

**Melchior Lorichs: An Artist in the Ottoman Empire
in the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent**

by

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**To My Parents,
Hediye and Dođan Őahin,
For your love, belief in my endeavors.**

Koç University
Graduate School of Social Sciences

This is to certify that I have examined this copy of a master's thesis by

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and have found that it is complete and satisfactory in all respects,
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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the life of Melchior Lorichs and his works depicting the Ottoman Empire. Melchior Lorichs was a Danish artist who came to the Ottoman Empire with the embassy delegation of the Holy Roman Empire, led by ambassador Busbecq in 1555. His detailed drawings about the Ottoman Empire make him invaluable for historians and art historians. Today, his panorama of Constantinople and his portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent are widely known and used. In addition, his drawings of several buildings and monuments such as the Old Fatih Mosque and the Base of the Column of Constantine are used as documents for these buildings which have not survived. Unfortunately Melchior Lorichs was not able to publish all of his drawings about the Ottoman Empire during his lifetime. He published a book called: *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss*, the last copy of which was destroyed during the World War II. Fortunately his drawings were used after his death and in 1626 a book containing his drawings was published entitled *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren*. It is the aim of this thesis to analyze a group of the drawings from this book and some, which have survived, from his first book. The thesis also includes a summary of interactions with Europe to the time of his visit in order to give the social and political background of the period. The usage of Melchior Lorichs's studies of architecture and antiquities are discussed in view of reconstructing lost monuments.

Keywords: Melchior Lorichs, Panorama, Istanbul, Constantinople, Süleyman the Magnificent, Ottoman Empire, 16th century, Engravings, Architecture.

ÖZET

Bu çalışma Melchior Lorichs'in hayatını ve onun Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hakkındaki çalışmalarını inceler. Melchior Lorichs Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na 1555 yılında Kutsal Roma-Germen İmparatorluğu elçisi Busbecq liderliğindeki heyetle gelmiş bir Danimarkalı sanatçıdır. Sanat stili Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'na gelmeden önceki gezileri sırasında Avrupalı sanatçılardan etkilenmiştir. Objeleri yansıttığındaki detaylı işçilik onu Osmanlı İmparatorluğu tarihçileri için çok değerli kılar. Bugün onun panoraması ve Kanuni Sultan Süleyman portresi eşsiz oldukları için sıkça kullanılır ve bilinir. Bu eserlere ek olarak, birçok yapı çiziminde bulunmuş, bunların arasında Eski Fatih Camisi ve Çemberlitaş Sütunu'nun tabanı da vardır. Bu iki eser bugüne kadar değişmiş ve orijinal halleri kalmamıştır. Ne yazık ki Melchior Lorichs yaşamı boyunca, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu hakkındaki çizimlerinin hepsini yayınlamamıştır. *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigendtlliche contrafectung und bildtnuss* adında bir kitap yayınlatabilmiştir, bu kitabında son kopyası da İkinci Dünya Savaşında yok olmuştur. Ölümünden sonra, ne şanstır ki, çizimleri 1626'da tekrardan *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren* isminde bir kitap halinde basılmıştır. Bu tezin amacı, basılan bu kitaptaki bir grup resimi ve ilk kitabından geride kalan bir kısım resimi incelemektir. Tez aynı zamanda o günlerin sosyal ve politik arkaplanının anlaşılması için Melchior Lorichs'nin ziyaretine kadar olan Avrupa'yla ilişkilerinin özetini. Şu an yok olmuş anıtların tekrar inşağısı için Melchior Lorichs'in mimari ve antik eser çizimlerinin kullanımında tartışır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Melchior Lorichs, Panorama, İstanbul, Konstantiniyye, Kanuni Sultan Süleyman, Osmanlı İmparatorluğu, Gravür, Mimari

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INTRODUCTION

In this thesis I try to compile and analyze the entire spectrum of Melchior Lorichs's Turkish engravings which have never been studied as a whole or in comparison to similar contemporary works while complementing artistic works with historical documentation.

I first came upon Melchior Lorichs's works in a lecture by Günsel Renda. Later on, I had the opportunity to delve into his material in greater detail thanks to her again. Most of the engravings I examine here were loaned to me by her. She had received images of these engravings on a visit to Copenhagen in the early 1990s, from Erik Fischer.

Today, we can see Melchior Lorichs's art work in many collections, such as the Royal Library in Copenhagen, the University of Leiden, the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, the Albertina Museum in Vienna, the British Museum in London, the Hermitage Museum in Petersburg, and the Metropolitan Museum in New York. The largest group of 42 had been acquired by the English diarist John Evelyn (1620-1706) and is today known as Evelyn Collection (Mango & Yerasimos 4).

Overall, Melchior Lorichs made 127 woodcuts about the Ottoman Empire between the years 1570 and 1583 (Fischer 1990 6). This number does not include the portraits of Süleyman and his Panorama of Constantinople. Melchior Lorichs had many other commissions between these years, such as his map of the river Elbe; yet, this thesis will focus on his engravings about the Ottoman lands and people.

Melchior Lorichs arrived in Constantinople with the Holy Roman Emperor's delegation in 1555. Most of the delegations who came to the East had artists within the group to depict scenes and portraits from the Ottoman Empire. Among the

various artists who traveled through the Ottoman Empire, Melchior Lorichs has a unique place. He came to Constantinople in the mid-16th century, at a time when the Ottoman threat was heavily felt in Europe; yet, there were not many sources that identified this “menace” to Christendom. Europeans did not really know about the social and daily life of the Ottomans, or their appearance. In this sense, Melchior Lorichs’s works filled this gap in knowledge. As an artist, he drew many sketches of a variety of monuments, antiquities and portraits, everything that caught his interest in Constantinople. Later, when he returned to Europe, he made drawings and engravings from these sketches, so they survived to our day.

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the works of Melchior Lorichs concerning the Ottoman Empire, with particular emphasis on the usage of these pictures as a source for the reconstruction of Ottoman daily life, structures, costumes and antiquities. His drawings, including the Panorama of Constantinople, give us valuable information about the city itself, with its major monuments, important buildings, surviving antiquities of that time, together with the portraits of the people, soldiers, officers, and even the sultan. Günsel Renda claims that Melchior Lorichs is the most realistic European artist to depict the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent (Renda 2005 45). Lorichs’s portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent is artistically and historically a significant artwork, depicting a realistic portrait of the sultan in his old age who did not pose for any other artist.

In the first chapter, I attempt to show the effects of the Ottoman expansion in Europe which was heavily felt in central Europe in the mid-16th century, and how it affected the minds of the European humanists and the public. To show this, I have relied on secondary sources. For the earlier periods of the Ottoman history I have used Cemal Kafadar’s *Between Two World*. Kafadar in this works tries to give

alternative solutions to more traditional approaches for explaining the expansion of the Ottoman Principality. In a sense, he makes a counter-argument to more traditional models, such as Paul Wittek's *ghazi* thesis (Wittek 40). I have also used several of the many works of Halil İnalcık for explaining the Ottoman expansion in different periods. Mostly I have relied on his article in the two-volume work *Ottoman Civilization*, which starts from the beginnings of the Ottoman Principality and chronologically analyzes each period in its context (İnalcık 2001). I have used his other publications to examine more specific time periods, such as "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City" to show the changes made in the Constantinople during the reign of Mehmed II (İnalcık 1969). For the historical background of Mehmed II's reign and personality, Franz Babinger's *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time* is indispensable. Babinger has achieved a very well documented biographical work on the sultan. He even takes into account his artistic patronage, although it is lacking in specific work on Mehmed II as an art patron. Julian Raby closes this gap with his many articles such as "Opening Gambits" (Raby 2000), or his book *Venice, Dürer, and the Oriental Mode* (Raby 1982a). In both works, Raby takes a more specific approach to the art patronage of the sultan in terms of his relations with the Italian states. For the reigns of Bayezid II and Selim I, I have kept to the historical approach due to the lack of interest in European arts or conquest at that time. Halil İnalcık's article "A Case Study in Renaissance Diplomacy: the Agreement between Innocent VIII and Bayezid II on Djem Sultan" is very informative about how the young sultan affected the foreign policy of the Ottoman Empire (İnalcık 2004). I have also used Jerry Brotton's *The Renaissance Bazaar: From the Silk Road to Michelangelo*, which gives examples of the effect of Cem Sultan's stay on Italian art. Regarding the

Humanist writing on Ottomans, Nancy Bisaha's *Creating East and West: Renaissance Humanists and the Ottoman Turks* (Bisaha 2005) and Margaret Meserve's *Empires of Islam in Renaissance Historical Thought* (Meserve 2008) both deal with the origins of the Turks. According to these authors, the Renaissance humanists tried to explain the Turks by finding them a place in the classical past. For the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, the focus is on the expansion of the Ottoman Empire and the European diplomacy of the sultan. De Lamar Jensen's article "The Ottoman Turks in Sixteenth Century French Diplomacy" details all the agreements between France and the Ottoman Empire in 16th century power politics, but he uses mostly French sources. Halil İnalçık's article in *Ottoman Civilization* compensates for the gaps in this article by giving the Ottoman's view of the alliance and its implications (İnalçık 2001). For the sultan's role as a patron of the arts, Gülrü Necipoğlu's "Süleyman the Magnificent and the Representation of Power in the Context of Ottoman-Hapsburg-Papal Rivalry" provides answers to questions about the sultan's patronage of western art in the different phases of his reign (Necipoğlu 1989).

For the biography of Melchior Lorichs, Hans Harbeck's dissertation has been my main source. In the first chapter of his thesis, he details the life story of Melchior Lorichs, and then he continues with some of his works and the characteristic of his style. Harbeck without a doubt has researched the material extensively, and his usage of the sources and narrative proves this, but his thesis was written in 1911 and cannot take advantage of the knowledge of the material we have now. He does not include the woodcuts that I will take into account here; moreover, his dissertation is difficult to find. Erik Fischer's *Melchior Lorck in Turkey* fills the gap in Harbeck's work. Fischer does try to point to new woodcuts and publishes most of them, although he

does so in the form of a slim exhibition catalogue that lacks an extensive explanation of the engravings. He cannot identify several mosques in Lorichs's studies, such as the Atik Ali Mosque.

The life of Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq is taken into account together with the life of Melchior Lorichs. Busbecq was the leader of the delegation of the Habsburg embassy to Constantinople and also the author of the *Turkish Letters*, one of the most influential works on the Ottoman Empire in the era of Süleyman the Magnificent. Furthermore, Busbecq's work can be regarded as a written companion to the drawings of Melchior Lorichs, and they together reflect the life in Constantinople at the end of 16th century, by both literal and visual means (Rogerson 88). For his biography, F.H. Blackburne Daniell and Charles Thornton Forster's *Life & Letters of Ogier Ghiselin de Busbecq* can be considered one of the best sources (Daniell and Forster 1881). They not only give a brief account of his whole life, but also include the lives of Busbecq's ancestors and how his status as illegitimate son affected his position at the Holy Roman Emperor's court. Semavi Eyice's article entitled "Elçi Hanı" is useful because it describes the living quarters of both men in Istanbul (Eyice 1970b). In addition, I have used additional primary source material, such as the travelogues of Salomon Schweigger, Hans Dernschwam and M. Heberer for describing the living quarters of the embassy (Schweigger 2004, Dernschwam 1992, Heberer 2003). While Eyice discusses the building in terms of its usage and history, the travelers point to its functions while they stayed there or how its location restricted their movement in the city. Also, for the connection between Lorichs and Busbecq Rogerson's "A Double Perspective and a Lost Rivalry: Ogier de Busbecq and Melchior Lorck in Istanbul" provides fresh insights (Rogerson 2004). The author tries to prove a rivalry between the two persons, and how this resulted in the *Turkish*

Letters of Busbecq. Although very logical in its assumptions, there is not enough proof to support the author's argument. Busbecq's *Turkish Letters* is maybe the best-known source about their stay in the Ottoman Empire, very enjoyable to read and very informative on the daily life of the ambassador. Although it is a shame that Busbecq never mentions Lorichs in any of the four letters, we can see parallels in the drawings of Lorichs and the narrative of the *Turkish Letters*. The letters were written while the ambassador was in the Ottoman Empire, but they were published in 1588 in Paris, and after Busbecq's editing it might be possible that he later omitted some of his observations about Lorichs.

In my research on the panorama of Constantinople, I have mainly consulted Cyril Mango and Stéphane Yerasimos's *Melchior Lorichs' panorama of Istanbul, 1559: a rare facsimile edition of a peerless work of art*, which I was only able to find in the rare books section of the Avery Library, Columbia University. This published work, which consists of a one-to-one-size copy of the panorama and a brief introduction by the Mango and Yerasimos, is indeed peerless among the English-language publications on the panorama. The authors mainly use the best known sources on the panorama, that is, Wultzinger's and Oberhummer's publications, both in German (Wultzinger 1932, Oberhummer 1902). This work is also exceptional in its approach, pointing out the similarities with Vavassore's view and pinpointing the angles of location used by Melchior Lorichs.

For the architectural drawings of Melchior Lorichs, Godfrey Goodwin's *A History of Ottoman Architecture* and Doğan Kuban's *Istanbul, an Urban History: Byzantion, Constantinopolis, Istanbul* were the sources for the comparison between the buildings and Lorichs's own drawings (Goodwin 2003, Kuban 1996). Both of these books are detailed histories of architecture. Thus they are more complex in

their approach and give floor plans and measurements, and focus on explaining in their entirety the architectural history of the periods they take into account. For a more detailed account of the Fatih Mosque, I used Mehmed Aġaoġlu's "Die Gestalt der alten Mohammedije in Konstantinopel und ihr Baumeister" and "The Fatih Mosque at Constantinople" (Aġaoġlu 1926, 1930) In both articles, Aġaoġlu tries to establish the Turkish character of the mosque with the ground plan and the structural details based on Lorichs's and other artists' drawings.

Hans Harbeck's article "Zwei Neue Zeichnungen von Melchior Lorichs" aimed at publishing two previously unknown engravings showing (the base of Column of Theodosius and the base of Column of Constantine); it is well-written, but lacks information on other antiquity studies (Harbeck 1910). Cyril Mango's article "Constantinopolitana" is about unpublished old drawings of the ancient monuments of Constantinople in British collections (Mango 1965). He includes a short comparison to Lorichs's drawing of the base of the Column of Theodosius with another drawing made 13 years after the Lorichs's drawing.

In order to examine Melchior Lorichs's single images, I again used Erik Fischer's *Melchior Lorck in Turkey* and Alexandrine St. Clair's "A Forgotten Record of Turkish Exotica" which also presents Lorichs's engravings in the Metropolitan Museum, yet she is very selective and only discusses a couple of drawings in the collection (St. Clair 1969). Also, there are some irregularities such as her identification of one of the engravings, which might not be correct when we take into account Nicolas de Nicolay's travelogue. Semavi Eyice's "Avrupa'lı Bir Ressamın Gözü ile Kanuni Sultan Süleyman: İstanbul'da Bir Safevi Elçisi ve Süleymaniye Camii" is a well documented work on the sultan's portrait and also gives information on Lorichs's other portraits (Eyice 1970a). Eyice also gives the captions belows the

portrait in Latin in the text, which I have translated into English. His explanation of the Portrait of the Safavid ambassador's portrait explains the mystery of the wrong labeling. Peter Ward-Jackson's "Some Rare Drawings by Melchior Lorichs in the Collection of Mr. John Evelyn of Wotton, and now at Stonor Park, Oxfordshire" details an exhibition of the Evelyn Collection engravings, as its name suggests (Ward-Jackson 1955). The author also includes a catalogue of the engravings exhibited and uses Harbeck's thesis to fill in the gaps in the historical background information, but examines the artistic value of only some of the pieces exhibited.

Most of the engravings used in this thesis are from the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Copenhagen. Some have been published in the 1990 exhibition catalogue by Erik Fischer. I have categorized the drawings under four sub-chapters in accordance with their themes, because this seemed the most efficient and easy way to categorize the pieces. Thus, I included Melchior Lorichs's panorama of Constantinople, which is no doubt his best known work. Due to its uniqueness and attention to detail, many scholars have had an interest in this panorama. Among his architectural drawings, I have focused on the mosques, but also included several street views and the study of a tent to show some variety, although I omitted similar drawings to decrease repetition. In the category comprised of studies of antiquity, I have included every one of Lorichs's drawings I was able to find; unfortunately, his drawing of the Column of Arcadius is not among them. In the last grouping, single images; I excluded some that depict peasants, which were few in number in comparison to his military figures. Also, I have omitted many of his military figures of which I have given similar examples, such as Janissaries or equestrian figures. I have also added the portrait of Süleyman I, another one of Lorichs's best known works. For comparison I have used contemporary sources similar in nature, such as Vavassore's

view for the panorama of Constantinople and Nicolas de Nicolay's travelogue for the single images. In addition, I have taken into consideration the later usage of the material, and found some examples of these cases, such as the copies by E.G. Happel.

This analysis of Melchior Lorichs's works is organized into three main chapters. The first chapter focuses on the historical framework of Ottoman-European relations, since this is essential for a better understanding of how each regarded the other. Interactions with Europe are taken into account in this chapter, until the embassy of Busbecq at the end of the reign of Süleyman the Magnificent, especially the European expansion of the Ottoman Empire. The effects of this expansion on European politics, which resulted in diplomatic embassies, which in turn resulted in the artwork, is the subject of this thesis. The second chapter consists of brief biographies of both Melchior Lorichs and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq. Melchior Lorichs' life is of importance to see how he evolved to be the man he was, including his artistic development and the masters he emulated and their influences on the formation of his style. The final chapter discusses his artwork, how his drawings are different or similar to those of his contemporaries, and how they are used now.

This thesis will complement the studies mentioned above by compiling his works in a logical order. In this sense, the focus will be on Melchior Lorichs's albums, with particular emphasis on the reasons for his curiosity about the Orient. However, the motive of curiosity is not the only significance of his drawings. The art historical value of his artworks, many of which have not survived, is undeniable. His works have remained unpublished for a long time, but have still influenced important artists and served as a source of information and inspiration for those working on Ottoman history, social life and arts through the centuries.

CHAPTER I

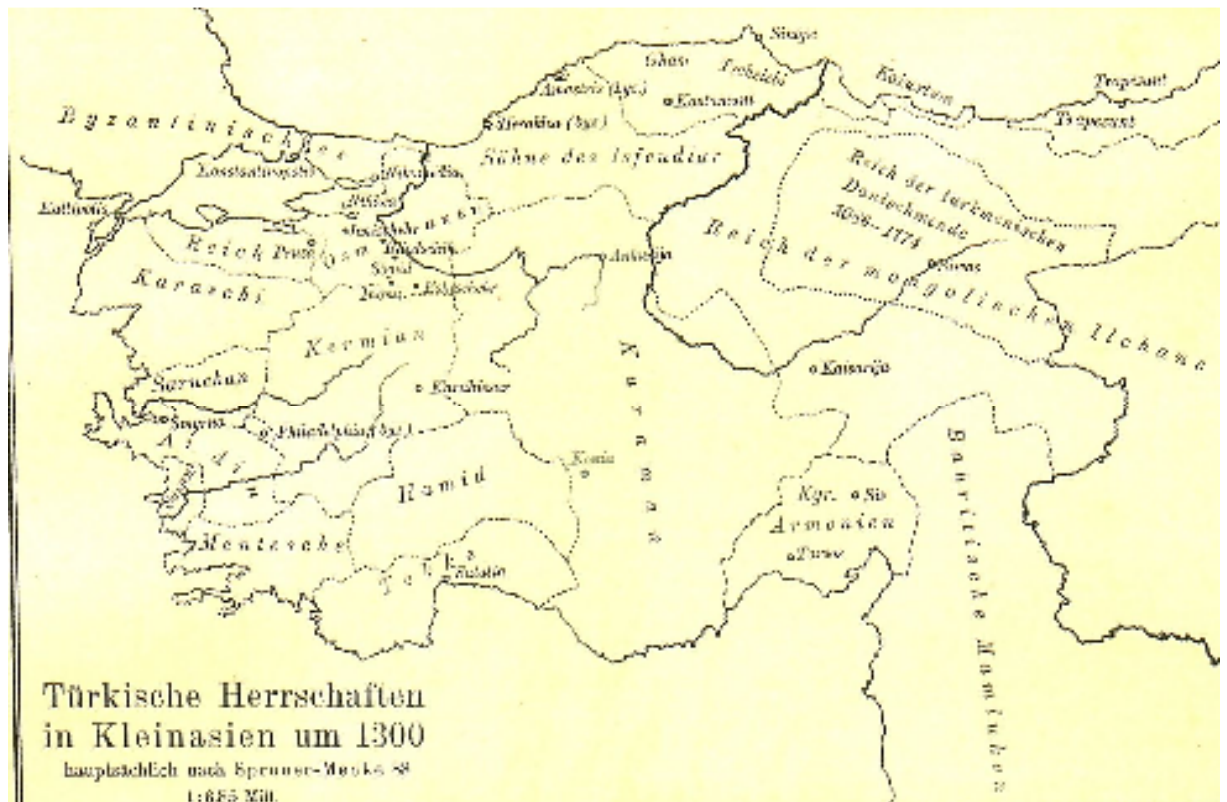
OTTOMAN CULTURAL RELATIONS WITH EUROPE AND WESTERN TRAVELERS IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE UP TO THE 16TH CENTURY

In order to gain a thorough understanding of the interest of the Europeans in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century, it is necessary to discuss the position and evolution of the Ottoman State from its beginnings to its so-called Golden Age in the era of Süleyman the Magnificent.

1.1 Ottoman Interactions with Europe up to 1453

The Ottoman State emerged in Söğüt as a principality in the Northwestern corner of Anatolia, in the region of Bithynia at the beginning of the 14th century. This territory was subject to dispute between nomadic warlords and local lords, who had been selected by the Byzantine Emperor in Constantinople. This region was a weak spot in the line of Byzantine defense. The main reason for this weakness was the structure of Byzantine power during the early 14th century, which was politically not solid. The re-conquest of Constantinople by the Palaiologos dynasty was achieved in 1261, which ended the Latin occupation. However, Constantinople was already depleted of its sources by the 4th crusade and needed funds for its recovery (Talbot 243). The old lands of the Byzantine Empire were divided among feudal lords, who were acting independently regardless of the Byzantine emperor. In addition, there was a rival dynasty in Trebizond, claiming the throne of Byzantium. Nearly all of

Anatolia was ruled by Turkish warlords, and it was divided into small principalities according to the name of the founder of the dynasty. The Ottomans were one of these principalities, named after their founder, allegedly Osman. However, Cemal Kafadar in his book *Between Two Worlds* claims that this legendary founder's original name might be Atman rather than Osman and that he later took the name of Osman instead of a Turkic name, in order to emphasize his roots in Islam (Kafadar 124). On the other hand, Ibn Battuta, in his travelogue, mentions that the father of Orhan Bey was Osmancuk, and this increases the truthfulness of the name in the use of the dynasty (Ibn Battuta 2004 430).



Map 1: Ottoman Principality in the region of Bithynia by the time of Osman I (Oberhummer 1917 79) .

Although the principality of Ottomans was a small power compared to other principalities in Anatolia, they had an advantage over the others. This advantage was their strategic position on the border of much weakened Byzantine territories, which

enabled them to expand much more quickly than their co-religionist rivals (İnalçık 2003 15). Other principalities were bordering each other, and the only way for them to expand their region was through constant warfare against co-religionist and also powerful tribal leaders. The Ottomans were able to make forays into the lands of infidels and could use the idea of *ghaza* or holy war against unbelievers, as Wittek suggests in his *ghaza* thesis (Wittek 40-1). Ibn Battuta in his travelogue does not directly point out to this feature. Instead, he says that Orhan Beg (the current ruler of the Ottoman State in the time of Ibn Battuta) was among the first of the Great Turkmen lords in Anatolia and that he constantly fought against the Greeks and conquered their lands, which brought him much fame among Muslims. This fame brought many followers to the cause of Orhan and increased his rank (Ibn Battuta 1983 136).

Although *ghaza* ideology might have played its role on the Ottoman advance through former Byzantine territories, we cannot reduce Ottoman state's growth to this term alone. The Ottoman State expanded further northwest and into the Balkans in the early 14th century. Despite the fact that the Ottomans were border warriors themselves, the Byzantines had their own border forces, called Akritai. In the first surges of the Ottoman conquest after the occupation of the borderland, we see many fief-holder Christians fighting under the Ottoman banner against their co-religionists (İnalçık 1954 114). Also, we must mention the influence of the Ottoman freedom of practicing religion in contrast to the ideology of spreading religion with force. Moreover, due to the high taxation by their local lords, many of the villages or fortresses in the former Byzantine holdings surrendered to the Ottomans without fighting. This is indeed mentioned in the chronicles of Aşıkpaşazade:

When they took these fortresses (Bilecik, Yarhisar, İnegöl, Yenişehir), they treat the population with justice and equality and all the populations came and settled in their villages, wherever they are. Perhaps their conditions became better compared to the period of the infidels. Even the people living in non-Muslims provinces, also started to come here because they heard the comfort of infidels here. (qtd İnalçık 2001 37)¹

This rapid increase in the lands of the Balkans and Thrace in the later 14th century actually turned the principality into a Balkan state in its formation period. The bulk of the territories occupied by the Ottoman State were in Europe up until the time of Mehmed II, and its population was composed of many different ethnic and religious groups. European expansion of the Ottomans onto Europe was strengthened by the settling of Turks in Thrace in the period of Orhan Bey. Orhan was able to enter Thrace as an ally of Byzantine forces and because of their help, he occupied the fortress of Tsympe (Çimpe) on the edge of the Gallipoli peninsula, from where the Ottomans started colonizing Thrace (İnalçık 2001 61). This colonization of the newly acquired territories has enabled the Ottoman success in Thrace and further made possible campaigns into the Balkans. Later, this colonization method was praised by Machiavelli in his book *The Prince* as an efficient method to increase the loyalty of the subjects in recently conquered lands that are composed of ethnically and religiously different groups (Machiavelli 9). In the period of Murad I, the conquest of the Balkans gained momentum. He was in favor of conquest in the Balkans even before his enthronement. His brother Süleyman Bey, who started the settlement in Thrace, had died, and Murad I was selected instead to govern the new holdings of the Ottoman State by his father Orhan Bey. During the period of Murad I, the first stationed army was formed by *devşirme* (tribute boys) from the newly

¹ İnalçık's Translation of Aşıkpaşazade .Tevarih-i Ali Osman. Ed. N. Atsız. 1947. Chapter 3

conquered territories (Yapp 148). These boy tributes later formed the janissary corps and were criticized by many contemporary humanists as an inhumane and barbaric tradition. However, its efficiency was praised by many, such as Salutati:

It is astonishing how the leaders cultivate their men in the art of war; ten or twelve year-old boys are seized for military service. Through hunting and labors they inure and harden them, and through running, leaping and this daily training experience they become vigorous.... (qtd Bisaha 56)

Murad I left a powerful state in the hands of his son Bayezid I after his death in the Battle of Kosovo in 1389. The first act of Bayezid was to quell the rebellions in both Anatolia and Balkans. Because of his efficiency and quick response to various rebellions in the state, he was nicknamed Yıldırım (thunderbolt). During his reign, he conquered most of Anatolia and some of the Mamluk holdings in southeastern Anatolia and Erzincan, which Timur had considered his own domain (İnalçik 2001 76). Bayezid also annexed the Bulgarian Kingdom, made forays into Wallachia and held Constantinople under siege. In the eyes of Western Europeans, he was mostly famous for his victory over the Crusader army in Nicopolis in 1396. This army consisted of French and Burgundian Knights, who were veterans of the Hundred Years' war in France and recruits from England, Germany and Italy (DeVries 541). These forces joined with the forces of the Hungarian King Sigismund and fought against Ottoman forces led by Bayezid I. Bayezid won the battle with the help of his Serbian vassals and executed most of the crusaders (Bisaha 55). This victory caused distress to Western Europeans because the French Knights, who took part in the battle, were considered the best military force in Europe and because Ottoman superiority was unacceptable. Moreover, the help of the Serbian forces to the Ottoman sultan showed how the Balkan people resented the Latin rule and

preferred to be vassals to the Ottomans. Bayezid sent some of the prisoners to Cairo, Baghdad, and Tabriz to be paraded in front of the public as a show of strength and thus promoted his role as *ghazi* (DeVries 551). He also obtained the title of Sultan al-Rum from the Mamluk caliph in Cairo (İnalçık 2001 77). Although he had become a symbol of cruelty in Western Europe, Bayezid's fall came in the hands of Timur at the battle of Ankara in 1402. Timur reinstated the Anatolian principalities, and the Ottoman State fell into a period of interregnum.

Although the loss of major Anatolian territories affected the Ottoman State, its sure foothold and support from Balkan vassals made it possible for the Ottomans to re-flourish again. After this recessive period, which ended with the Mehmed I being the sultan, his son Murad II came to Ottoman throne. Murad II's period could be described as a preliminary period before the maturing of the state under Mehmed II (İnalçık 2003 28). Murad II conquered Thessalonica which was under Venetian rule. This city was a center of trade between the Aegean and Adriatic seas. Murad II also conquered Serbia in the Balkans and later made Serbia a vassal state under Ottoman rule. He was a sultan more inclined to peaceful life (Mazower 28). Thus, he abdicated his throne in favor of his son Mehmed II. However, due to military pressure from both fronts, Murad II returned to the throne in 1446 and stayed there until his death in 1451. Mehmed II came to the throne again in this year, which indicates the start of a new era for the Ottoman state.

During the formative years of the Ottoman Empire, the Ottomans had interactions with Europeans because its power base was in Europe. However, most of the connections with the European states were hostile and resulted in battles and conquests between the Ottomans and various European states in this period. There was also trade going on with the Europeans such as with the Italian state of Genoa.

We know from the accounts of Bertrandon de la Broquiere in 1432 and Pero Tafur in 1437 that Italian merchants were trading in Bursa, a major Ottoman city (Lowry 104).

Unfortunately, Ottoman records for the period before the conquest of Constantinople are somewhat scarce due to the relocation of records from the Bursa palace to Edirne and then to Constantinople. Moreover, many early records are missing due to the sack of Bursa by Timur in 1402. Thus, there is no evidence of diplomatic interactions with Western European states, or any kind of interaction in the field of art before the reign of Mehmed II. However, this period is significant, since the first usually hostile connections with Europe were formed at that time and in later periods evolved to interactions in the art.

1.2 The Change and Cultural Interactions with Europeans in the time of Mehmed II to the time of Süleyman the Magnificent

The reign of Mehmed II shows a great differentiation from the reigns of previous sultans. Mehmed II not only changed the Ottoman state into an empire but he also revitalized the outlook of Ottomans to Western Europe.

Mehmed's foremost ambition was against Byzantine Empire's last stronghold: Constantinople. He needed Constantinople as a capital for his empire; as a conqueror of the Eastern Roman Empire, he would be able to entitle himself as Kaiser-i Rum (Caesar of Rome). This title would enable him to justify his claims over Rome and the old territories of the Roman Empire which were divided mostly among Italian city-states such as Venice, Genoa, Florence, Milan and Naples (Findley 113). When he came to the throne, Mehmed renewed the peace treaties with

all the neighboring states of the Ottoman Empire and then built Rumeli Hisarı to block any possible assistance from the Black Sea, from the Genoese colonies and the Kingdom of Trebizond. These acts would enable him to take Constantinople, by isolating Byzantium from the outside world (Theunissen 124). After he took Galata without force, the Genoese submitted to the Ottomans with a favorable treaty guaranteeing their trade rights under the rule of the Byzantine Empire (Mitler 74). On the other hand, the main city was ransacked, and the population was sold as slaves because of their refusal to surrender (Runciman 145). Mehmed II entered the city, decreasing the looting period from three days, which is demanded by religious law, to one day (Goodwin 42). He did not let his men destroy the buildings and statues, except for the statue of the last Byzantine Emperor and the church of the Holy Apostles due to their political significance. All the other statues or buildings that remained after the sack of the city by the Crusaders in 1204 were kept intact.

After the conquest of Constantinople, Mehmed II showed his genius by repopulating the city. He first released his share of slaves (around twenty percent of the captured population) and encouraged his dignitaries to do the same in order to vitalize the city (Yerasimos 2000 209). He collected craftsmen and workers to revitalize the city from almost every part of the empire, either by force or by voluntary migration. He also gave privileges to the settlers to encourage migration. With these actions, Constantinople became a cosmopolitan capital which in itself showed the shape of the Ottoman civilization in future centuries (İnalçık 1960 413). Ottoman civilization could be described as involving a plurality of different cultures it engulfed and, later on, as the unity of these unique cultures, of which it consisted. Mehmed II restored the Greek Orthodox Patriarchate in 1454, and established a Jewish grand rabbi and an Armenian patriarch in the city to facilitate the incoming

population movement and encourage more settlers (Yerasimos 2000 209).

Unlike any other sultan who reigned before him, Mehmed was deeply interested in the arts. He himself was a poet; he wrote his own *divan* under the pseudonym Avni. Also, we know that he drew portraits, and birds while he was in Manisa as a governor (Raby 1982b 4). In addition, he was able to speak several languages and established a library with books in many different languages. He moved his library to Edirne and then to Constantinople. He protected the statues and relics of the past in Constantinople. He was deeply interested in architecture, especially in military architecture. The above-mentioned Rumeli Hisarı and Yedikule (Seven Towers Castle) are fine examples of fortresses that he built during his lifetime. Yedikule especially shows the cutting-edge techniques in the military structures of its time, resembling Italian designs. In his reign, mathematics, astronomy, and Muslim theology reached their highest level among the Ottomans (Babinger 470). He also commissioned many books to be translated into Ottoman and ordered the translation of the Bible into Ottoman Turkish. Thus, some people accused him of being an admirer of foreign ways. The verses written below are from the time of Mehmed II and constitute a good example of how the common people were thinking about the sultan:

If you wish to stand in high honor
On the sultan's threshold
You must be a Jew or a Persian or a Frank,
You must choose the name Hâbil, Kâbil,
Hâmidi,
And behave like Zorsi: show no Knowledge. (Babinger 508)

Mehmed II also founded the court studios. He brought artists from all corners of the empire and masters, such as Baba Nakkaş of Uzbekistan, to head the workshop (Rogers 85). He funded and encouraged many artists from different regions of the

world to come to Constantinople. There, they created and contributed works of their cultures to what would later become the Ottoman style.

During the reign of Mehmed II, the Timurids were in power in Asia. They produced great manuscripts and poetry in Persian (Barry 111). The Persian manuscripts was more appealing to the Ottomans because of their nomadic style, colorful background and the convention of using Persian as a language of culture and taste in contrast to Arabic as a language of science and religion (Mansel 22). Writing poetry in Persian is a good indicator for Mehmed's interest and appreciation of Persian literature. This might also be the case why he was holding Persians in higher regard than Turks.

Mehmed II was very much interested in western art and architecture. It was custom of Renaissance European monarchs to commission artists to strike medals of them, and Mehmed II wished to propagate his image as an emperor. In 1461, he sent a message to Sigimondo Malatesta, Lord of Rimini, through a Venetian merchant, requesting Matteo de Pasti, a student of Pisanello, to come to Constantinople (Renda 1999 12). However, on the way to Constantinople, Pasti was arrested by Venetians in Crete for treason. Pasti was carrying with him *de re militari*, a military book and some maps as a present to sultan (Rogers 82). In later years, the sultan would be able to have a medal struck by Costanzo, who was sent by the King of Naples in 1477 (Renda 2001 1094). The political division of Italian city-states helped Mehmed II in dealing with them. For instance, Mehmed II was a close friend of Benedetto Dei, a Florentine living and trading in Constantinople (Chandler 236). He was inclined to help the sultan because the Ottoman Empire was at war with Venice at the time, and this enabled the trade with Europe to shift to Florentine hands. Dei bought some engraving that depicted mythological and biblical scenes for Mehmed II (Rogers 81).

Moreover, the sultan most likely had access to the *Iskendername* a translation of the Persian material by Ahmedi, written by Firdewsi (Bağcı & Çağman & Renda & Tanındı 27). He had heard of the Medici rule of Florence and felt empathy towards them mostly because of his friend Dei and their common enemy, the Venetians. In 1479, the Pazzi family attempted an uprising in Florence, but they were unsuccessful and fled to Constantinople, where Mehmed had them arrested and subsequently executed (Brotton 52).

Due to these relations, there was an increase in trade with Florence. Mehmed II was also especially interested in the maps of Italy, most likely for military purposes. He had the Italian version of Ptolemy's *Geographike*, as well as he had Catalan, Italian, Arabic maps of the Mediterranean (Renda 1999 9-11). As mentioned above, Mehmed II was very interested in architecture, especially military architecture. He was known to get involved with the building of Rumeli Hisarı and several other structures after the conquest of Constantinople; he ordered a new palace for himself which still remains today, although much changed. We know that the palace had two parts: the *Çinili Köşk* and the part in western style, the *Frengi*, which does not survive today (Necipoğlu 1991 14). This attitude to diversification and experimenting with different styles shows his openness to new ideas.

After the end of the Ottoman-Venetian War, cultural interaction and trade with the Venetians started again. Mehmed II wanted a painter and sculptor from the Venetians. We certainly know that the painter Gentile Bellini came to Constantinople. Julian Raby claims that a sculptor called Bartelomeo Bellano also came to Constantinople with Bellini (Renda 1999 12). Mehmed II commissioned several frescoes for his palace and some other portraits which include a portrait of Virgin Mary and the Christ Child. Several sources claim that he wanted Bellini to

draw erotic pictures for him (Babinger 379). Moreover, Mehmed II commissioned a medal by the artist. Bellini struck this medal but since he was not a medalist the outcome was not satisfactory. Nonetheless, the sultan was very pleased with his work and gave him many precious gifts before he returned to Venice (Rogers 88). Unfortunately, the frescos did not survive; it has been claimed that Bayezid II sold the painting. In the end, Mehmed II's portrait found itself in a market in 19th-century Venice and was bought by an Englishman, Layard, who later gave the portrait to the National Gallery (Campbell & Chong 78). In the time of Mehmed II, painting had its place at court in the court studios, the *nakkaşhane*. From court registers, we know that the most exquisite of these paintings executed under Mehmed II belong to Nakkaş Sinan Bey, who was believed to be a convert to Islam and tutored by Italian masters (Babinger 505). Julian Raby claims that several of the paintings attributed to Costanzo belong to Sinan Bey, since if he really studied under Italian masters he must have been more talented. The paintings attributed to Sinan Bey are most likely to be painted by his student, because they are not as professional in their execution as a masterpiece (Renda 1999 16). On the other hand, Ottoman portraiture will continue and the effects of shading and depth in miniature will increase over the years.

After the fall of Constantinople, Europeans wondered about this sultan who had conquered the holy city of Constantinople. One of the first images of Mehmed II in Europe is in reality the bearded portrait of the late Byzantine Emperor (Raby 2000 65). As trade relations with the Italian city-states started, Mehmed II gave away his medals as gifts to different princes in Italy. Later on, the painters and travelers who visited the Ottoman lands made more accurate pictures for Europeans. The first images that were copied were Costanzo's paintings and medals. For unknown reasons, Gentile Bellini, who stayed longest in Constantinople, did not bring much

artwork about the Orient when he returned to Venice. He drew only one painting with his brother that is *Saint Mark preaching in Alexandria* (Lemaire 21). This painting is half imaginary and about a place under Mamluk control rather than Ottoman. Julian Raby claims that Bellini had time only for commissioned paintings, and he was not able to observe his surroundings clearly as he stayed secluded in the palace, where he was not able to see daily life. Afterwards, Italian artists entered a Mamluk mode, but it ended quickly because of the fall of the Mamluks to the Ottomans, as mentioned by Raby (Howard 72):

In the End the prevailing type of Oriental Mode in Venetian and Veneto Painting, from 1450s to the last decade of the Quattrocento was Ottoman. (Raby 1982a 83).

As mentioned, Mehmed II was unlike any other sultan before him, but he was not unique in the Ottoman dynasty for his openness to ideas from Western Europe in many fields. From all sources, we know that he liked and appreciated art, but according to Babinger Mehmed II cannot be considered a Renaissance patron of art (Babinger 500). This claim might be true, but a ruler as intelligent and cunning as Mehmed II must have found a practical usage for figurative art such as propagating his success in Europe, or as a means for strategic information gathering (Bishara 74). We see that, whenever there was peace, Mehmed II requested for artists from the West to better propagate his image in Europe and to acquire topographical maps of the cities he wished to conquer one day. Mehmed II with his conquest of Constantinople and his military campaigns caught the attention of Western Europe and kept it with his own interest in Western art and technology.

Yet, when Mehmed II died and Sultan Bayezid II came to throne, his legacy was not continued in every aspect. Bayezid II was unlike his father. He was a pious Muslim and abhorred figural painting, and he was more interested in classical

Islamic arts. Also, Bayezid II was in no position to undertake campaigns against his European rivals. Bayezid II's brother Cem Sultan, who was also favored by his late father Mehmed II, had escaped the Ottoman territories, first to Mamluk Egypt, then to the Knights of Rhodes (İnalçık 2003 36). Cem Sultan was kept by the Westerners as a bargaining chip against an Ottoman invasion (İnalçık 2004 72-80). When Cem Sultan died in exile, his corpse was ransomed by Bayezid II. Cem Sultan and his entourage was a subject of curiosity when he stayed in Italy, and he was depicted in many frescoes such as the *Disputation of St. Catherine* in the Sala dei Santi in the Vatican (Brotton & Jardine, 32-35). The most important cultural aspect of the time of Bayezid II was his acceptance of Spanish Jews into the Ottoman lands in 1492. Spanish Jews came with new technologies and trade contacts, which revitalized Ottoman cities (Mazower 47-52). Although Bayezid II was not favoring figural art, he was interested in the technological developments of Western Europe. Bayezid II invited Leonardo da Vinci and Michelangelo. Although there is no evidence that they came to Istanbul, there is a sketch of a bridge in the Topkapı Palace archives, attributed to Leonardo da Vinci (Raby 2007 107).

Bayezid II abdicated the throne in favor of his son Selim I. Selim I was favored by the military elite because he was proposing military campaigns against the Safavids in order to block their influence in Anatolia. Bayezid II was seen as a feeble old man, while Selim I was promising war, victory, and loot (İnalçık 2003 36). As Selim I came to throne, his first act was to do what he promised. He started campaigns to quench the rebellions which were sparked by the Safavids hence their name *Şahkulu*. He later conducted military campaigns to Tabriz and northwestern Persia (İnalçık 2001 102). He gained victory against the Safavids and brought many artists from cultural centers such as Tabriz. Later, he attacked the Mamluks in Syria,

who were claiming suzerainty over southeastern Anatolia. He annexed Syria, Palestine and Egypt. He moved the seat of the caliphate from Cairo to Istanbul. He also moved many artisans and theologians to the capital. While campaigning in the East, he also invited Michelangelo to Istanbul because of his excellence in figural painting (Raby 2007 107). Selim I seemed to have shared an open-minded outlook with his grandfather Mehmed II, rather than with his father Bayezid II. Selim I was not the greatest art patron, but a warrior on the road to campaigns for almost his entire reign (Finkel 104-14). Also, he was campaigning in the Middle East rather than in Europe, which limited the scope of relations with Western Europe in his lifetime. On the other hand, he accumulated the wealth and artistic traditions of the East in his capital. His son Süleyman I was to make good use of this wealth and the artists he brought back from the East.

1.3 The Age of Süleyman the Magnificent

1.3.1. Süleyman the Magnificent: the Diplomacy and Political Expansion of Ottoman Empire in his Reign.

Süleyman the Magnificent became sultan of the Ottoman Empire at the age of twenty-six. He was unopposed, because he was the only male heir to the throne. His reign is the longest in the Ottoman dynasty, from 1520 to 1566. For forty-six years, he ruled and expanded the empire until his death. His rule was an example of greatness for future sultans and chronicles alike. He expanded the borders of the empire on every front at a turbulent time in European history.

Immediately after Süleyman came to throne, he started a campaign to take Belgrade. Europe was divided at the start of Süleyman's reign due to the claims to

the title of Holy Roman Emperor by both Francis I of France and Charles V of Spain. German Electors selected Charles as emperor, and hostilities started between Charles's empire and France in 1521 (Jensen 451). Süleyman's first campaign resulted in success, and he later moved to Rhodes to secure the Eastern Mediterranean. The Knights of Saint John were active in Rhodes, attacking Ottoman ships and generally being a thorn in the side of the Ottoman Empire. Süleyman subdued the fortress and expelled the Knights from Rhodes in 1522 (İnalçık 2001 110). Meanwhile, Francis I of France was taken prisoner after the battle of Pavia in 1525 (Jensen 452). In the same year, French agents visited Süleyman's court to request help for the release of Francis I (İnalçık 2001 110). Most of the agreements were done verbally, and we only have the answer of Süleyman to Francis I as a written document, which clearly indicates an Ottoman-French alliance (Jensen 453). This alliance most likely would have tarnished the reputation of rulers if it had been known by general public, so the lack of documentations can be considered natural. Francis I was hoping to form an eastern front against Charles V to make up for his loss in Pavia. The Ottoman Empire was an integral part of this plan. The Ottoman Empire was seen as a guarantor force for the independence of European states against Holy Roman Emperor (İnalçık 1973 40). Süleyman invaded Hungary in the following year in 1526 (İnalçık 2001 112). The Hungarian King Louis II was an ally of Charles V. Two armies met at the Mohacs valley, and Süleyman annihilated the Hungarian forces. The Ottoman Empire did not annex Hungary immediately. Instead, Hungary became a tributary state under the rule of John Zapolya. John Zapolya was the ruler of Transylvania, who had joined the Ottomans against the Hapsburgs. The Hungarian nobles who fled the country formed a diet at Pressburg and elected the Archduke of Austria, Ferdinand, as the ruler of Hungary (İnalçık 2001 112). Thus,

hostilities began between Austria and the Ottoman Empire that would last until 1532. In 1532, both parties reached a brief peace treaty. In 1534-5, the sultan marched against the Safavid Empire and conquered Tabriz and Baghdad, and annexed Azerbaijan together with Iraq (Finkel 126). The Holy Roman Empire undertook a crusade against Tunis in 1535, which was under Ottoman protection, and its armies sacked the city. Süleyman had given the admiralty to Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha, a famous Barbary corsair who had joined the service of the Ottomans in 1519 and became the governor of Algiers (Labib 444). Under his command, the Ottomans regained Coron in the Morea and Tunis. After the Ottoman victories at Tunis and Coron, the Papacy formed a holy league to counter the Ottoman threat, and the command was given to Andrea Doria, a Genoese admiral who had deflected from Francis I to Charles V in 1531 and raided Greece and Algiers (İnalçık 2001 113). The navy of the holy league consisted of ships from Venice, the Holy Roman Empire, the Papacy, Genoa, Florence, Portugal, and the Knights of Malta. The main force was from Venice, which supported the combined fleet to protect its holdings in the Adriatic Sea and the Holy Roman Empire, which was competing for the supremacy of the Mediterranean basin (Finkel 128). Barbarossa Hayreddin Pasha dealt a huge blow to the allied fleet in 1538 at Preveza, against the western forces under the command of Andrea Doria. The Ottoman fleet proved its supremacy in the Mediterranean with this victory (Atıl 1987 23).

After the death of John Zapolya, Ferdinand moved to Budapest to force his claim to the throne of Hungary in 1541 (Finkel 129). Süleyman marched to Hungary, successfully repulsed Ferdinand and made Hungary a province of the Ottoman Empire, thus terminating its tributary state status. A joint sea campaign with France against the Holy Roman Empire took place in 1543. Barbarossa Hayreddin, who had

wintered at Toulon in France, blockaded the French fleet at Nice and then raided the Italian coast to weaken the Holy Roman Empire in Italy (Miller 453).

France sent a brigade to help the Ottomans in their Hungarian campaigns. In 1547, Ferdinand and Süleyman signed a five-year peace treaty. The French-Ottoman alliance was renewed the same year by the new king of France, Henry II, who found it in his interest to continue an alliance with Ottomans to keep the power of the Holy Roman Empire (Miller 453). The Hapsburgs also were negotiating an alliance with the Safavids to strengthen their own position and to check Ottoman power. This alliance never resulted in a military joint venture. Süleyman again marched east to confront the Safavids, who had taken Tabriz in 1548-49. The Safavid Sultan Tahmasp attacked the Ottoman territories after the Ottoman armies retreated and another Persian campaign was launched in 1553-55, resulting in a peace treaty at Amasya, where the Holy Roman Ambassador Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq was also present (Busbecq 2005 54). After the death of Charles V, there were no major offensives against the Holy Roman Empire. This might be due to the old age of Süleyman and the internal troubles with his sons for the crown of the Ottoman Empire. The new Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand was also dealing with internal troubles in the German principalities. The rise of Protestantism in this age was a major problem for both Charles V and later for Ferdinand (Faroqi 34-5). Süleyman was offering support for the new religious movements in Europe, although neither Luther nor the other reformists accepted his patronage (Forell 260). Süleyman's military campaigns in the Mediterranean kept Charles V from focusing on the so-called "heretics" in the German principalities. The Ottoman Empire was a refuge for the religiously oppressed in the middle of the 16th century as the empire sheltered Calvinists, Huguenots and other minorities (Goffman 110-11). Ottoman influence

was not only centered on the Mediterranean. Ottoman expansion towards the Indian Ocean to block Portuguese attempts to find a foothold in spice trade were launched from arsenals in Basra and in the Red Sea, although they were not successful (İnalçık 2003 43). Süleyman's last campaign was against the Hapsburgs in 1566, and although he was ailing, he personally led his army, most likely he believed that he was to die on the campaign fighting against the infidels as a true *ghazi*. If that was his wish, it was granted, since he died during the siege of Szigetvar. His body was transported to Istanbul, where he was buried next to his wife Hürrem, in the Süleymaniye Complex.

1.3.2. Süleyman the Magnificent: Patronage of Arts and Crafts

The age of Süleyman the Magnificent is seen as the zenith of Ottoman arts and crafts. There are many factors that lead to this conclusion. One of the factors was that Süleyman's father Selim I, with his conquest of the Middle East, had brought skilled craftsmen trained in the Islamic crafts such as calligraphy, miniature painting and book binding back to the Ottoman capital. Also, with his conquest, the Ottomans gained the control of great wealth due to their position on trade routes between Europe, China, India and Egypt. In addition, the formation of the *enderun* in his great-grandfathers time provided the sultan with fresh recruits for Süleyman's projects.

Another important factor was Süleyman's personality. Ottoman sultans were also trained to have a useful skill as part of their education. This tradition continued until the end of the empire, which enabled the sultans to learn a craft. Süleyman was

trained as a goldsmith, and he most likely appreciated the fine arts. Süleyman was also a poet using the pen name *Muhibbi* beloved friend (Atıl 1987 24). His long reign made it possible for the arts to flourish in a stable environment, and we see the effect of a cosmopolitan empire in the time of Süleyman. There was a combination of styles from every part of the empire in a unique cosmopolitan way, which would later be called the classical Ottoman style in various fields, but mainly in monumental architecture. The famous architect Sinan himself worked on over three hundred projects throughout the empire under the patronage not only of the sultan himself but also of his court, including grand viziers and princesses. Sinan was not the only famous artist in the era of Süleyman the Magnificent; there were also Haydar Reis, also known as Nigari, a portrait artist, Matrakçı Nasuh and Nakkaş Osman, all illustrators (*nakkaş*), and the famous Piri Reis, a cartographer (Bağcı & Çağman & Renda & Tanındı 68-115). Also, Shahkulu a *nakkaş*, specialized in the *saz* style, a naturalistic pattern to be adapted from painting to other decorative arts which later evolved into a style called *şukufe*, a floral design. The name of his most important student was Kara Memi (Bağcı & Tanındı 268).

Süleyman was known as Kanuni in the Ottoman Empire, meaning the lawgiver, since he aimed to be a paragon of justice and law as was his biblical namesake Solomon. On the other hand, he was known as the Magnificent in Europe because of his great show of power and wealth. He showed splendor in his every move. When Süleyman came to the throne, his first grand vizier was Damat İbrahim Pasha who was also called as *Frenk*² because of his love of European objects. He was close friends with the European community of Pera and influenced the sultan to be pro-European. The sultan, on his advice, ordered a crown for the purpose to show

² Frenk was what muslims called to Western Europeans

the West that he was the rightful ruler of Europe. Gülrü Necipoğlu makes a good case in her article to show how imagery was used to propagate the image of the sultan in Europe (Necipoğlu 1989 401-27). However, as far as we know, this is Süleyman's only commissioned work of art from the West. Unlike his great-grandfather Mehmed II, Süleyman never commissioned a portrait artist, yet his image was as widespread as his great-grandfather's (Bağcı & Çağman & Renda & Tanındı 83). The increase in relations with Central Europe and the campaigns of the Ottomans into Europe gave rise to Western interest, about the Ottomans. Accordingly, many travelers, embassies and prisoners of war came to Ottoman lands during the era of Süleyman. Most artists painted pictures of the Ottoman Empire without even seeing it themselves. They either used material previously published, which were very limited or used accounts of others to shape their images. Even the great German artist Dürer used Turkish images in his drawings. He mostly used Oriental figures in his paintings of martyrdom, such as *The Martyrdom of St. John*, where they are shown as torturers (Eichler 49). Dürer also painted a portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent as a youth with a moustache (Bağcı & Meyer zur Capellen 97). However, we know that he never saw the sultan himself and this portrait resulted in many copies in the printed media in Europe (Gerelyes 2-7). Dürer also wrote a treaty in his later days. This treaty was called *Instructions on the Fortifications of Cities, Castles and Towns* (1527) and dedicated to King Ferdinand of Hungary and Bohemia. The main purpose of this writing could be deduced from this sentence:

Not only that a Christian may protect us from others, but that the lands on the Turkish borders may be saved from their violence and bombardment. (Waetzoldt 220)

Dürer's interest in the Ottomans cannot be denied, even though the authenticity of his sources is unknown. However, he might have been influenced by Gentile Bellini during his visits to Italy. After Bellini, the only artist that came and depicted the Ottoman Empire was Pieter Coecke van Aelst, who was commissioned by a tapestry firm to sell tapestry to the Ottoman court in 1533 (Renda 2001 1098). Gülrü Necipoğlu in her article claims that he was well-received by the Ottoman court and even might have found patronage for his tapestries if the grand vizier Damat İbrahim had not been executed (Necipoğlu 1989 421). Also, there are other ideas why the sultan of an Islamic empire might have refrained from buying imagery. Coeck returned to the Netherlands with his drawings of the Ottoman capital only, which were later published by his wife in Antwerp in 1553. The last traveling artist who came to the Ottoman Empire before Melchior Lorichs was an embassy member (Hamilton 40-41). He was French and came with the ambassador d'Aramon in 1551-52. His name was Nicolas de Nicolay, and he drew a magnificent costume album depicting single images of Ottoman subjects (Wunder 116). Melchior Lorichs had also come to Ottoman lands with an embassy delegation led by Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq. Unlike Nicolas de Nicolay, Lorichs was a member of the Holy Roman Emperor's delegation and a potential enemy of the Ottoman sultan. Moreover, he did not focus on single images only, but he drew everything that interested him in his voyage. Although he was confined to a caravanserai, he was able to draw many different subjects. He even was able to draw Sultan Süleyman in his old age, although it is highly unlikely that the sultan posed for him.

As we can see, the cumulative increase in the interactions between the Ottomans and Europe resulted in cultural awareness and curiosity in Europe and

partly in the Ottoman Empire, mostly in court circles. As military confrontations increased, the cultural interactions saw the peak point in the age of Sultan Süleyman. It was in this turbulent time that the delegation of Busbecq came to Constantinople with a young artist called Melchior Lorichs.

CHAPTER II

MELCHIOR LORICHS AND OGIER GHISLAIN DE BUSBECQ

A study of the lives of Melchior Lorichs and Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq is necessary for a better evaluation of the works of Melchior Lorichs. As mentioned in the introduction, Melchior Lorichs had taken part in the embassy of Busbecq to Constantinople and his drawings are a product of this journey. Their background and the experiences before and after their journey to Constantinople are the basis of this chapter. Both Melchior Lorichs and Busbecq were members of the same embassy, and their shared experience is among the best known documented information on life in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century.

The lives of these two great men of the 16th century are interlinked with their travel to Constantinople for both of them their stay in the capital was far different from what they had imagined. One was an artist, engraver and goldsmith, the other a humanist, diplomat, writer and educator. Thus, these differences probably led to different aims and expectations and ways in which they approached the city during their travel. Both of them are remembered today because of their accounts of Constantinople, Melchior Lorichs with his magnificent drawings and Busbecq with his *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (1581), later re-published under the name *A. G. Busbequii D. legationis Turcicae epistolae quattor*.³ Both of these accounts complement each other, yet they never directly point to each other. The reason for this relative ignorance of each other's account might be their secret

³ In English they are known as *Turkish Letters*. This name will be used in the following text.

competitiveness, as Barnaby Rogerson claims, our lack of evidence concerning the documents produced by Melchior Lorichs and Busbecq (Rogerson 92).

Melchior Lorichs⁴ is thought to be the firstborn son of the Lorichs family named after his grandfather (Harbeck 1911 7). He was born in either 1526 or 1527, since the exact date of his birth is unknown. We assume this date according to a portrait of Martin Luther made by him in 1548, where he claims to be 21 years old (Harbeck 1911 9). He belongs to a noble and well-to-do family at Flensburg (now in Germany, Schleswig-Holstein) that is known from his own autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark in 1563:

In the meantime Your Majesty's father, Christian [III], King of Denmark (of most famous memory!), who in Flensburg always took lodging in my father's house (as your forefathers likewise did before)... (Fischer 1990 10)⁵

We also know that his father was in the town council, and as was the tradition of the period, the sovereign always stayed with the nobles of the city when he had to stay in a town (qtd. Harbeck 1911 8).⁶ He also used the name of the city in his monogram that is, MLF, Melchior Lorichs Flensburgensis⁷. Thus, Melchior Lorichs was born as a noble on the border shared by Denmark and the Holy Roman Empire.

⁴ (also spelt Lorck, Lorch, or Lorich)

⁵ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563 by Melchior Lorichs.

⁶ Sejdelin, *Diplomatarium, Flensborgense II*, s. 70, No. 136, p. 80.

⁷ Today Flensburg in Germany.

In his autobiographical letter he also relates to his early training as a goldsmith which he implies to have entered on his own wishes, but not necessarily on the wish of his parents:

Already as a child, by incessant appeals to my parents, I was allowed to go to a celebrated master goldsmith in Lübeck, with whom I stayed for a long time to learn how to work various metals and also to assess the qualities of precious stones. (Fischer 1990 10)⁸

From the following statement, we can assume that his parents were not supporting his wish to be an artisan:

...despite the objections of my parents and friends, who did not want me to spend my youth on such arts.... (Fischer 1990 10)⁹

Nevertheless, it seem that Lorichs insisted on becoming a goldsmith and pursued his wish in a determined way for his age, not influenced by the contrary opinions of his parents and friends.

During this period of his life, Melchior Lorichs also accompanied his master on business trips to Western Denmark and Pomerania, which further influenced the rest of his life (Harbeck 1911 9). We might say he was struck with wanderlust, and his curiosity was encouraged by his master. The first seeds of his desire to travel to different lands were planted during these trips with his master, and in the end he took his leave to study further in Southern Germany.

⁸ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

⁹ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

In the most admirable royal manner His majesty then informed me that if I would continue my studies of art, perfect myself therein, and serve my King, His majesty would give me honorable employment and remuneration. He ordered his chancellor, the Bishop of Lübeck, to write to me for Him and annually send me a certain sum of money, and provide me with a royal recommendation and a passport to help me, which also happened and was accomplished. (Fischer 1990 10)¹⁰

Cyril Mango, in his introduction to *Melchior Lorichs' Panorama of Istanbul, 1559: A Rare Facsimile Edition of a Peerless Work of Art*, calls this kind of gesture “a traveling scholarship” which enabled Lorichs to further his studies (Mango & Yerasimos 3). There is no doubt that this kind of funding would be called a traveling scholarship nowadays. With this funding, he traveled to Augsburg where he claims to have entered the service of Count Palatine Elector Ottheinrick in 1548. Later, he claims to have been discharged of this duty and traveled to the Netherlands. According to the accounts of Harbeck in 1550, Melchior Lorichs started copper engraving in Nürnberg (Harbeck 1911 10). He probably moved to Italy in 1551.

Having heard the Italians praised more than other nations for the said arts I went to Venice and on to Bologna, Florence, Rome and many other splendid cities in Italy... (Fischer 1990 10)¹¹

As mentioned by Lorichs himself in his accounts, in the Italian Cities, his curiosity about classical antiquity increased. He studied Roman statues and copied them. According to his royal contract, he should have returned to Denmark by 1552, but he did not return and instead went to Neuburg on the Danube on the invitation of the Count Palatine Ottheinrich. In his autobiographical letter he gives his reason for traveling to the East:

¹⁰ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

¹¹ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

As I learned that such kinds of paintings, sculptures and [other] works of greatest value had their origin in Greece (where in ancient times they had been brought to great perfection and were held in esteem, and from where – together with other admirable forms of art and great treasures – the Roman victors had transported them to Italy, and from Italy to other European countries), I imagined that Greece would still hold many wondrous monuments, marvelous buildings and similar venerable artistic relics which I yearned to see. (Fischer 1990 10)¹²

Based on his curiosity about classical antiquity, he was planning to go to Greece, the East, since he had visited Italy. Finally got his chance to travel to the East with an ambassadorial envoy from Vienna, which was then the capital of the Holy Roman Empire.

During the journey Melchior Lorichs first met Busbecq. The embassy delegation was led by Busbecq, a humanist and learned man of his period. He was born in a small town called Bousbecque, which is located in north-east of Lille in France, near the Belgian border today therefore his name comes from there. In the 1550s, it was under the control of Charles V of the Holy Roman Empire. His father was a noble man, but unlike Lorichs, Busbecq was an illegitimate child of Seigneur de Busbecq and only accepted into the family when he was twenty-seven. According to Foster and Daniell, this kind of behavior was not uncommon in Flanders in the 16th century; the moral standard was not high in regard to similar situations (Daniell & Foster 43). He was educated first in Flanders, most likely by his father's friend and neighbor George Halluin Seigneur of Comines, a humanist and friend of Erasmus. Seigneur of Comines had a very extensive library which included the translations of ancient Greek and Latin texts. We can say that George Halluin Seigneur of Comines mostly formed the image of an ideal man in Busbecq's mind. In his later life,

¹² An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

Busbecq proclaimed that there is no greater bliss to a man than a house with many books, a small garden, and a few friends (Daniell & Foster 43). This sentence outlines the life of George Halluin and certainly points to the degree of his influence on the life, attitude and works of Busbecq. In accordance with the fashion of the period, Busbecq first continued his studies at the University of Louvain in 1536 and then traveled to other universities of Europe, such as Paris, Bologna, and Padua. Finally, he became a student of Baptista Egnatius, a friend and colleague of Erasmus (Daniell & Foster 48). This kind of education was at the core of European Renaissance thought, which aimed to regain the knowledge of the ancient world and continue their work rather than blindly following the old doctrines of church in the area of science. This movement was especially strong in the Low Countries and Flanders. Accordingly, we see the benefits of this education in the later life of Busbecq. The first of these benefits was achieved when he was twenty-seven. Taking into consideration his merits, Charles V issued a patent, removing the stain from his birth as an illegitimate child and formally admitting him to the family of Busbecq (Daniell & Foster 48). The reason why his family had accepted him wholehearted might be due to his achievement in the universities of Europe, or due to the fact that he was already known by all the family members and appreciated for his qualities (Daniell & Foster 51). Daniell and Foster quote a contemporary of Busbecq, L. Guicciardini, in his book first published in 1567, where they attribute to him the good qualities of men:

He is a prudent sage and ambassador of Emperor Ferdinand to many Princes and Soliman the Emperor of Turks and he continues his duties

to his master with fidelity and loyalty among the Turks. (Guicciardini 311)¹³

His first mission for Ferdinand the Archduke of Austria and the Brother of Charles V of Spain was with Don Pedro Lasso de Castilla to the English court to witness the marriage of Mary of England to Philip of Spain in Winchester Cathedral (Daniell & Foster 52). It was expected of the archduke to send an envoy to celebrate the marriage of his unfortunate aunt Catherine of Aragon's daughter to his nephew; son of Charles V. Busbecq was an attaché in the mission. Moreover, Busbecq's family worked as retainers to the grandfathers of both the Archduke of Austria and the King of Spain when Flanders was a part of Burgundy, and his father was a retainer to their father, Archduke of Austria Maximilian who later became emperor. His family was favored for generations on the part of the Hapsburg House. He was attached to the embassy of Don Pedro as a linguist: Busbecq by this time knew six languages as well as his mother tongue, ironically excluding his mother tongue Flemish. These languages were Latin, Italian, French, Spanish, German, and Slavic. This envoy from his uncle was received in England with great honors due to the family bonds of Queen Mary. They left England in October of 1554 via Dover to the Netherlands with an English guard against the French (Daniell & Foster 52). The embassy delegation was divided when they reached the continent. Don Pedro left for Brussels, and Busbecq went to Lille to stay with his aunt. This is where he received summons from Ferdinand, to undertake the duties of an ambassador at Constantinople (Daniell & Foster 52).

¹³ Translations from French are mine.

By that time, Ferdinand of Austria was in need of a good ambassador at the Ottoman court. The political situation Busbecq was sent to negotiate on behalf of the emperor Ferdinand I was fairly problematic, and could have placed him in considerable danger, considering that his predecessor Malvezzi had spent two years in prison (Daniell & Foster 55). It had to do with the status of Transylvania over which both the Austrian emperor and the sultan claimed supremacy (Daniell & Foster 55). Thus it was a position of high importance but not desired by many retainers at court because of its dangers. While sending summons to Busbecq, Ferdinand also sent a message to Don Pedro Lasso to use his influence with the young diplomat to urge him to come to Vienna. Busbecq headed out on 2 November 1554 and reached Vienna by 18 November. He had visited his friends and family on the way and made arrangements for his journey to Constantinople. He most likely chose his companions while he went to Vienna, which means most of his companions should have been from Flanders. He was received in Vienna by John van der Aa, his countrymen and a member of the privy council of Ferdinand. The councilman presented him to Ferdinand who briefed Busbecq on his mission. He later visited his predecessor, Malvezzi, who was on his death-bed and listened to his accounts of the Ottoman state, the Turks and Constantinople (Sarton 558).

Finally, Busbecq left Vienna in 1554 and traveled overland, arriving in Constantinople on 20 January 1555. Finding that the sultan was absent, he was instructed to meet him at Amasya, proceeding by way of Ankara, where he was the first to copy the famous inscription of the emperor Augustus, known as *Monumentum Ancyramum* (Güven 34). The interview with the sultan was not successful, in that Busbecq obtained only a truce of six months, just enough time to convey the Turkish message back to Vienna and return with the emperor's reply.

Thus, Busbecq hurried back to Constantinople and thence to Vienna, but found his master in no mood to make significant concessions over Transylvania.

Busbecq traveled to Constantinople once more, but this time most probably in the company of Melchior Lorichs (Mango & Yerasimos 4). Since the drawings of Melchior Lorichs are dated from 1555 to 1559, it is most probable that he was not with Busbecq on his first journey to Amasya. Moreover, we do not have a drawing of the Monumentum Ancyramum by Lorichs. From his interest and curiosity in classical antiquity, we might say with confidence that he would not have missed to draw such a magnificent ancient piece.

Busbecq stayed for a longer period of time on his second journey to Constantinople. Due to constant hostility between the two empires, he was kept under house arrest. From 1555 to 1562, he was in Constantinople. Unlike other embassy delegates who were placed in the Galata region, the Embassy of the Holy Roman Emperor was placed in Elçi Han near the Atik Ali Mosque in the neighborhood Çemberlitaş. The ground floor was used as stables, while the residential rooms above opened onto an arcaded interior veranda. The building survived in a ruined state until about 1880, when it was pulled down (Eyice 1970b 113). This building was a part of the Atik Ali Pasha Mosque complex and was commissioned by Atik Ali who was a grand vizier of Bayezid II. It was built as a caravanserai to produce income for the complex (Eyice 1970b 101). This building was allocated to the Holy Roman Embassy in the 16th century. We know this from Hans Dernschwam, who was a Holy Roman delegate and mentioned the building in 1553-55 claiming that it was built by Atik Ali Pasha who was also the sponsor of the mosque complex (Dernschwam 58). He even gives a detail of how Atik Ali Pasha died: in a skirmish against the Persians. This claim is true if we take into account that

Atik Ali Pasha died while subduing a Shiite rebellion in Anatolia. Although a good source for 17th century Constantinople, Evliya Çelebi, re-known writer, traveler and entertainer wrongly claims in his travelogue:

The Elchi Khan (Ambassador's Khan), even in the time of infidels, was a Khan for strangers, but it was endowed after the conquest by Ikbal Pasha (Evliya Çelebi 28)

Busbecq in his *Turkish Letters* also mentions the building as a prison, but points out that if they wished to relocate another location; they might, on the condition that they paid the rent themselves. This was deemed necessary by the Ottoman officials who thought of ambassadors as possible spies who had to be kept under a watchful gaze. We also have a small picture of the building in *Ein neue Reyssbeschreibung auss Teutschland Nach Constantinopel und Jerusalem* which was written by Salomon Schweigger at the end of the 16th century (Schweigger 58).

M. Heberer from Bretten also points out this situation in *Aegyptiaca Servitus* published in 1610. He says that French, English and Venetian embassies were located in Pera, far from the court, and that they were entirely free. On the other hand the Holy Roman Embassy was located in the city under constant surveillance by the Ottoman officials, away from the other European Nations secluded in the city (Heberer 311).

On the other hand, this specific building where the embassy was located is especially important in the context of Melchior Lorichs, since he claims to have stayed with the Holy Roman Emperor's ambassador under house arrest when he was in Constantinople and to have also used the Elçi Han as a vantage point in some of his drawings (Eyice 1970b 116).

Lodgings of the Roman Emperor's ambassador, in which I, too, M.L., was kept prisoner with him. (Mango & Yerasimos Sheet 8) ¹⁴

Busbecq was able to relocate to another place due to a break-out of the plague in Constantinople, but this took place in 1559-60. These dates correspond to the return trip of Melchior Lorichs, and we have no data showing that he stayed in a place other than the Elçi Han.

Busbecq, due to his upbringing and education, was a very detailed observer and narrator, as we can see this from his descriptions of his journey in the *Turkish Letters*. He describes animals such as his Arab horses, his camels, and the rest of his private zoo. He describes the Elçi Han elaborately, giving details on how it was teaming with snakes and that it had a beautiful sea-view. He also describes people such as the embassy cellar-man, Spanish prisoners of war, his competitor, the French ambassador, and his relations with grand viziers, first with Rüstem Pasha whom he disliked and did not trust, and later with Ali Pasha whom he saw as a fellow humanist: "Only civilized person that I met, among the Barbaric Turks" (Busbecq 130).

There is no reference to the young Danish artist in any of his letters, even though they lived in the same place for a long period. Lorichs had painted him and all the other members of the embassy. It is remarkable that Busbecq did not mention him at all. There is only one logical assumption according to Barnaby Rogerson, who claims that that they did not get along well. On the other hand, as young European intellectuals, they had many things in common. Both of them were noblemen, but Lorichs was a legitimate child and claimed his right by birth, while Busbecq worked

¹⁴ Inscription on the Elçi Han by Melchior Lorichs (1559) Sheet 8 in his panorama.

very arduously and gained his acceptance into the family only when he was twenty-seven. It is possible to understand from his writings that this class difference might have scarred Busbecq for life.

There is nobody around the Sultan who achieved his position due to any man other than himself with his bravery, wit or other qualities. No one is discriminated according to his family. (Busbecq 51)

While Busbecq was evaluating the core of Ottoman Empire's administrative system, collecting manuscripts, coins and watching the lives of the subjects of the sultan, Melchior Lorichs was also working. He was not an indolent or an inattentive person; his drawings of Constantinople show incredible detail and there are many drawing that he drew while he was in Constantinople. He even drew a portrait of Busbecq himself, so it seems there is no apparent reason that indicates that Melchior Lorichs did not like Busbecq or that he ignored him. On the other hand, there is only remote reference in Busbecq's letters saying that he owned a drawing of the Column of Arcadius which we know Lorichs drew many times (Rogerson 92). Thus, it is probably not Lorichs but Busbecq who deliberately refrained from mentioning him in his accounts.

Rogerson also points out that Lorichs might have stolen the thunder of Busbecq, because he reached Vienna two years before Busbecq, and with his exotic drawings he probably charmed the Hapsburg court (Rogerson 93). Busbecq's mission is remembered today because it led to the introduction into Western Europe of the tulip and lilac, and it also brought to Vienna many ancient coins and Greek manuscripts (Mansel 2005 13). In the end, it seems that Busbecq is the winner of the competition, if they were rivals, as Barnaby Rogerson claims (Rogerson 88-95).

Although Busbecq never mentioned Melchior Lorichs in his *Turkish Letters*, Melchior Lorichs mentions Busbecq, but again not directly, in his autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark:

I was soon attached to prominent and important legation which the Roman Imperial Majesty [Ferdinand I] at that time sent to high and mighty Sultan Süleyman, the Turkish Emperor. I went with the ministers [Busbecq, Verantius, Zay] to the Turkish Court in Constantinople and stayed in Turkey for three and a half years [1555 - 1559]... (Fischer 1990 10)¹⁵

Lorichs, while staying in Constantinople, drew the portraits of ministers as mentioned in his letter to Frederick II. Other than Busbecq, there were the Bishop of Erlau (Eger in Hungary), Antonius Verantius (Wranczy), and the Commander of the Danube Fleet, Franciscus Zay among the envoys. He also drew antiquities and made architectural drawings, but most of the drawings consist of scenes of everyday life. Most famous are without a doubt his panorama of Constantinople and his portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent, of which he sent a copy to Frederick II of Denmark, so as to show his appreciation of his sponsorship and to promote his work (Fischer 1990 12):

... and found the portrait of the high and mighty Sultan Süleyman, the Turkish Emperor, such as I have often seen him alive, and as I painted him in Constantinople with great care and the correct pose and attire... (Fischer 1990 10)¹⁶

In this letter, he also proclaims his wish to make a book out of his drawings. The reason why Lorichs never completed his great Turkish publication, it may be surmised, is that he took too many commissions and was constantly on the move. In

¹⁵ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

¹⁶ An autobiographical letter to Frederick II of Denmark, written on January 1, 1563, by Melchior Lorichs.

1563, he was still in Vienna and was given the task of decorating the city with fountains and triumphal arches for the ceremonial entry of the heir to the throne Maximilian, who later became Emperor Maximilian II (Fischer 1990 14). Melchior Lorichs and his brothers (Casper, Balthasar, and Andreas) were given titles, and their titles were renewed by Ferdinand II in 1564 just before his death in 1565. (Harbeck 1911 19) Melchior Lorichs drew the portrait of Michael von Aitzing in Vienna in 1565 (Harbeck 1911 19). In 1566, he took part in a campaign against the Turks that ended suddenly with Süleyman's death during the siege of Szigetvar.

Next, we see him in Sachsen in 1567, where he engraved the portrait of Ritter Wilhelm von Grumbach before his execution (Harbeck 1911 20). In 1568, we find him in Hamburg where, he drew a huge map or rather an extended panorama of the lower course of river Elbe, 14 meters long and 95 centimeters wide, even bigger than his Constantinople panorama (Harbeck 1911 20). At the same time, he gave a public performance of a poem that he had composed in Constantinople, called *Ein liedt vom Türken und Antichrist* (1568) (a song about the Turk and Antichrist); in accordance with the popular belief of the time, Turks were seen as Anti-Christ (Fischer 1990, 4). Later, he became very sick in Hamburg in 1572, and he wrote his will because of this sickness, which continued for two years.

Lorichs was aware of the value of his drawings and intended to publish them by printing them as engravings, a task that occupied him for many years, but the only result for this activity to appear in his lifetime was a slender book entitled *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss*, Antwerp, 1574 (True and Exact Portrait of Sultan Süleyman, the Turkish Emperor), which included an autobiographical letter addressed to King Frederick II of Denmark, dated January 1563, a short account of the Ottoman Empire including

four engraved portraits, two of Süleyman, whom in his letter he claims to have seen on several occasions, and two of Ismail, the Persian ambassador to the Porte (Fischer 1990 12). Semavi Eyice claims that a Persian envoy did come to Constantinople in 1557, but that the name of the Ambassador was not Ismail. Eyice thinks that the name might be a mix-up of the founder of the Safavid dynasty, Shah Ismail (Eyice 1970a 163-4).

In 1575, Lorichs engraved the frontispiece of a more extensive publication bearing his own portrait, a profile bust in Roman attire, but did not live to see the completion of that project. A German title with the date 1619 was later added to the frontispiece, but it seems that the book first appeared in Hamburg in 1626 and remains extremely scarce, although it was reprinted in 1641 and 1646. It contains 127 woodcuts, mostly of costumes military and civilian, but also included some views of mosques and street scenes (Fischer 1990 7). The value of this publication at the fullest pictorial record of things Turkish was perfectly recognized a century after Lorichs's death when a journalist by the name of E.G. Happel used the same woodcuts to illustrate his account of the second siege of Vienna in 1683 in his newsletter (Ward-Jackson 89). Each day he published the newsletter with a picture from Lorichs, but took care to erase the artist's signature and the dates so as to conceal the fact that this material was not exactly new. Also Rembrandt had the booklet of Lorichs woodcuts, which he might have used for the Oriental images in his painting that are very detailed and correct in terms of attire (Tietze-Conrat, 88). In addition to Rembrandt, Nicolas Poussin copied some of the woodcuts (Fischer 1990 40). Melchior Lorichs's influence on European painting can be seen within the works of these great masters. In 1580, Melchior Lorichs returned to Denmark as

court painter, but was dismissed in 1582. In 1583, he received his last salary then it is believed that he died in Copenhagen (Harbeck 1911 24).

Meanwhile, Busbecq returned from Constantinople to Vienna in 1562. A new opportunity was presented when Archduke Ferdinand received a marriage proposal for his grandson to the daughter of Philip of Spain. However, the young princes had to travel to Spain and stay under the protection of Philip. Ferdinand accepted the proposal and sent the eldest of the princes, Rudolph and Ernest to Spain with Busbecq as their guardian. Busbecq was dismissed of his duties on his arrival to Spain, and the princes started their education under the Jesuits. Although this incident was not a sign of disfavor, upon his arrival to Vienna, Busbecq was knighted and he was entrusted with the education of the Archdukes Matthias, Maximilian, Albert, and Wenzel who were the younger princes (Daniell & Foster 61).

Later, in 1570, he was assigned the position of high steward to Maximilian's daughter, who was going to marry Charles IX of France. In 1574, when Charles IX died, he was assigned to negotiate the widow of Charles IX and Queen of France's dower. He stayed at court in France for this position and after completing it remained in the court as a diplomat for his new sovereign Emperor Rudolph. He wrote 53 letters to the emperor from 1582 to 1585, describing the situation in France and even the local gossip. He was reporting the religious war that broke out in France, and in 1592 he took a leave of absence to visit his home town. He had papers from both factions to pass the war zone. On his way to Bousbecque in Rouen, he was captured by the Catholic League and imprisoned. He was never able to go to his hometown and died on his way in Rouen in 1592. Later, his heart was moved from Rouen to Bousbecque Church (Daniell & Foster 72).

Thus, these two great men of the 16th century passed away, and their works are the only remnants of their lives. Busbecq published his letters in Paris in Latin. Later, his book was reprinted twenty times until 1700 in seven languages (Mansel 2005 10). It was shown as an example to future diplomats in the later centuries because of his diligence in his work and writing. Busbecq was an ardent humanist, and we can see this tradition in *Turkish Letters*. He uses the “other” to criticize his own society as he had done on the importance of being noble-born and being a commoner in Europe and how it is different in the Ottoman Empire. He also criticizes the military system and the mentality of subjects in Europe, using examples from the Ottoman Empire. Busbecq’s letters are one of the few sources on the Ottoman Empire written by an outsider in a critical way with firsthand experience in the 16th century. The *Turkish Letters* hold an importance which no other source can claim in Ottoman history. According to Rogerson, no one who works on Süleyman the Magnificent can escape using Busbecq and Lorichs (Rogerson 89). Not only is Busbecq’s account from real experience and very meticulously written, but it also tries to be objective in most of its analysis of Ottoman society of the 16th century. Being a humanist and a diplomat, who knew how the European states work, Busbecq is a true judge. They are written in an easy, friendly manner so that is a joy to read, and it is also because of this aspect that his work is widely known.

On the other hand, Melchior Lorichs is remembered only by a few, who had the opportunity to see his rare work. His influence was spread by those few who could see his work, such as Rembrandt, and his surviving work is of great value. His work is a very detailed depiction of Ottoman Constantinople’s topography and architectural style. His panorama is priceless and unique, and his portrait of Süleyman the Magnificent is very detailed and lifelike. Moreover, there is no

painting of Süleyman in his old age that is more valuable in its realist style. Unfortunately the last known copy of Melchior Lorichs's book entitled *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtmuss*, Antwerp, 1574 (True and Exact Portrait of Sultan Süleyman, the Turkish Emperor) was destroyed in the World War II, so our knowledge of his writing is very limited.

Even though we have limited sources on his works, the surviving copies of his drawings are an insight to the 16th century life of the Ottoman Empire. Lorich's single images are like an ethnographic study, and his architectural drawings are rare examples of the urban tissue of Ottoman Constantinople in the 16th century. Also, his drawings of ancient monuments are very detailed and excellent sources for archeologists. His panorama has been used to identify the size and population of the city with its monuments up to 1559. All of these works, which will be investigated in the next chapter in detail, are a major source for the urban history of Constantinople and the social history of the Ottoman Empire.

CHAPTER III

Selected Works of Melchior Lorichs

The works of Melchior Lorichs are remarkable in their range, variety and subject. Among his several hundred drawings, paintings, woodcuts, engravings and etchings, there are various subjects depicted (Fischer 1996 31). Since he was a traveler, he stayed in many different places and was commissioned to depict or reflect the culture of those places. For example, he produced drawings of the Hamburg city gate, and a huge panorama of the river Elbe. As mentioned before, he was commissioned to decorate the city of Vienna for the entry of the crown prince and future emperor Maximilian II in 1563. He also drew portraits of notables and kings, such as that of Frederick II of Denmark (Habicht 77). Although these works are important in their own right, I have chosen to take on Melchior Lorichs's works on the Ottoman Empire, which I believe to be his most precious legacy. It was his Turkish woodcuts that made him memorable as these works were later used by great masters such as Rembrandt as a guide or copied by 17th - century painters like Poussin (Fischer 1990 7). Overall, he drew and engraved more than 150 woodcuts about the Ottoman world, mostly after his return to Vienna and by using previous sketches. We have a limited number of his engravings remaining today, since some of his works have vanished throughout the centuries. Fortunately, we have access to his other works through the printed albums that were published after his death and several rare drawings that survived in private collections. In this study, I have categorized his works in four groups facilitate an understanding of the material Melchior Lorichs has left behind. The grouping takes the subjects of the drawing in

account; the sub-chapters include respectively the Panorama of Constantinople, Architectural Studies, Studies of Works of Antiquities, and Single Images and Portraits. Although I was able to study the copies of woodcuts, it was not my intention to describe all of the works, but rather to use them as examples in the context that they are taken in.

3.1 – The Panorama of Constantinople

The panorama of Melchior Lorichs was not the first view of the city available to Europeans after the conquest of the city by the Ottomans; there was also the *Liber Insularum Archipelagi* (Manners 72-102). Melchior Lorichs might have seen or even copied some of the features of these maps in his panorama. There is no direct proof that he did, but there is a famous bird's eye view of Constantinople, which can be dated to about 1480, is of relevance to us. As we shall see, it was extensively used by Melchior Lorichs himself in his own version of the city.



Figure 0 Melchior Lorichs is drawing his panorama of Constantinople (1559) Sheet 9

There is a mystery concerning the origins of the 1480s view of Constantinople. Its earliest known version is a woodcut, preserved in a unique copy in the City Library of Nürnberg, and is signed by Giovanni Andrea Vavassore, recorded as an engraver, cartographer and bookseller active in Venice from 1510 onwards (Kafescioğlu 242). The view was re-cut for Sebastian Münster's *Cosmographia Universalis* (Basle, 1552) and thereafter republished several times from different plates (Renda 1995 13). The nature and authorship of the original drawing used by Vavassore remain unknown, but it is interesting to note that an older contemporary of his, the Florentine Francesco Rosselli, also an engraver, had in his possession three pictures of Constantinople (Mango 1999 2).



Map 2 The view of Constantinople by Vavassore copied in a later edition by Stephan Müsters in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*

The bird's eye view of Constantinople by Vavassore shows the city at an angle from the East, according to a convention that was becoming fashionable in Italy in the latter part of the fifteenth century (Schulz 431). Incredibly detailed view of Venice by Jacopo de Barbari (1500), could achieve considerable accuracy and gave a much clearer overall impression of buildings and streets that could have been obtained either by a conventional ground plan or view that spectator could physically have commended even if he were stationed on a high tower (Schulz 434). By placing him on a higher ground, a whole city was made to spread out before his eyes.

Since the panorama has a grand aerial view and shows the city as a whole, the way of its construction is debated. It is probable that this view was formed by partial views, instead of a measured survey, which is very hard to do in the case of Constantinople (Map 3). Thus, it is more reasonable to take advantage of the high buildings of the city and construct an aerial view in this way. However, at the end of the 15th century, there were not many high buildings in Constantinople that a foreigner could gain access to. Thus, his points of observation should be limited. On the other hand, Vavassore might have used the vantage point from the top of the Çamlıca Hill in Üsküdar in the Asian Side of the Bosphorus, which is among the best points to view the city (Mango & Yerasimos 3). However, as we look at his panorama, it seems that the view was slightly inclined in order to have a better vision and the details are given by sketches likely to be made from other vantage points such as elevated points in the city or from the sea (Mango & Yerasimos 3). This variation of vantage points in some cases has led to an inaccurate record of the buildings, such as the Hagia Sophia, the Fatih Mosque with its minarets depicted as

obelisks, and the castle of the Seven Towers that are shown as one huge round bastion. However, this does not reduce the great value of Vavassore's work, since it is one of the few studies that depict the city with its monuments at the end of the 16th century.

The date of the view corresponds reasonably well to that of Bellini's presence in Constantinople. The only mosque that is clearly shown, that of Mehmed II (Fatih mosque), was built in 1463-70. The Topkapı Palace with its surrounding walls, although not dated exactly, bears an inscription of 1478-79 on the *bab-ı hümayun* (main gate) (Necipoğlu 1991 8).

The next European artist known to have visited Constantinople was Peter Coeck of Aelst (Alost) in 1533. He is said to have traveled at the request of a firm of tapestry weavers in Brussels with the intention of establishing a manufacture in the Ottoman Empire, but the scheme came to nothing when it was learned that the Ottomans would not tolerate representation of men and animals (Wunder 108). Whether this is true or not, he drew a series of seven pictures which were published after his death (1550) under the title *Moeurs et fascons de faire des Turkz*, Antwerp, 1553 (Manners and Customs of the Turks). Indeed he was more interested in what we would call folklore than in monuments (Wunder 111). Thus, only two of the seven plates depict Constantinople: showing in the distance the mosques of Mehmed II and Sultan Selim I with a circumcision parade in the foreground; the other is known as the sultan riding with his suite through the hippodrome (Mango & Yerasimos 3). Some of the antiquarian details are shown fairly accurately, but the fanciful buildings in the background have no reality (Figure 1).



Figure 1 Procession of Süleyman the Magnificent through the Hippodrome by Peter Coeck of Aelst (1533) published in 1553.

The great panorama of Constantinople by Melchior Lorichs (original size 11.45 by 0.45 m.) consists of 21 sheets pasted together so as to form a continuous strip (Wulzinger 23). It is known that it remained in the University Library of Leiden since 1599 and may have been donated to that body by the statesman and humanist Janus van der Douza, whose son George also traveled to Constantinople (Mango & Yerasimos 5). No doubt because of its size and awkward format it was never engraved, although it provided a model for the smaller panorama by W. Dilich (1606), which was itself copied several times (Mango & Yerasimos 5). Finally, a monochrome reproduction at half the linear scale of the original was published in 1902 by Eugen Oberhummer, with a comments and transcription of all the written legends. Extending Oberhummer's work, Karl Wulzinger has also studied the panorama. Yet, the most recent work on the panorama belongs to Cyril Mango and Stéphane Yerasimos's facsimile edition of Melchior Lorichs's panorama of Constantinople in 1999. This book also includes the translation of the legend in English and a copy of the panorama in itself. Unfortunately only one hundred copies published.

The panorama appears to have been redrawn in Europe, like most of Melchior Lorichs works on the Ottoman Empire, and it was probably then that Lorichs decided to include its Italian legends in addition to his own German ones from the Vavassore view, even though these Italian legends sometimes pertain to buildings and localities that are not shown on the panorama, since they are behind the ridge of hills that define Istanbul's skyline. He also added from Vavassore the general title *Byzantium sive Constantineopolis* without correcting the misspelling (Mango & Yerasimos 5). It was surely also in Europe that Lorichs added his self portrait (Sheet 11). He is seen as a smartly dressed young painter; he was about 32 at the time, putting the finishing touches on the partly unrolled panorama, which has already been mounted on a backing. We may imagine that in reality he made only pencil sketches on the spot.

In 1559, the Vavassore view was still the only reasonably detailed representation of Constantinople that was generally available. Rather than following its fictitious perspective, Lorichs chose to delineate the city as it really was. Such cityscapes had been current since the 1480s as exemplified by the pictures of Venice and the other Mediterranean cities illustrating the highly popular *Pilgrimage to the Holy Land* by Bernhard von Breydenbach, first published in 1486 (Ivins 215). The main disadvantage of this style was their long and narrow format, but they did show what the human eye actually saw. In the case of Constantinople, the Galata Tower is the obvious vantage point and the view faces the Eastern extremity of the old city, whereas it has an oblique and distant view of its further continuation and none at all of the upper reaches of the Golden Horn. To remedy this difficulty, Lorichs chose to no fewer than eight positions, the first on the Galata Tower, the second on the northwest corner tower of the old Galata walls, three at Tepebaşı, two in Okmeydanı

and the last in the Jewish cemetery above Hasköy (Wulzinger 358-360). These have been carefully worked out by K. Wulzinger (Map 3). Seeing that the vantage points were at different distances, he had to adjust the scale as best as he could. In the case of the Süleymaniye Mosque he notes that he had drawn it too small. He also deliberately heightened for artistic effect certain monuments, e.g. the columns of Constantine and Arcadius and the Irene Tower, and he may even have inserted certain features, e.g. the Hippodrome obelisk, the Serpent Column and the Castle of the Seven Towers, which were not visible from these vantage points. His attention to these details seems to have gradually waned as he worked his way towards Eyüp, since the last sheets as far as one can judge, were less accurate than the foregoing ones.



Map 3 Diagram showing the vantage points used by Melchior Lorichs in drawing his panorama (Point A show the Galata Tower) unnumbered pl. By Wultzinger.

We may imagine that Lorichs took care to represent faithfully the main landmarks and then filled in conventionally. Lorichs's Istanbul certainly appears heavily settled, with few empty stretches and not so much greenery other than the gardens of Topkapı Palace. This is actually appropriate with the city-walls, population of about 120,000 households which has been conjectured for Sultan Süleyman's reign by travelers in 1550s (Freely 202).

A notable feature of the panorama is the artist's interest in the boats, which is natural for a man who grew up in a busy seaport. Many different varieties fill the Golden Horn. "Six barges of this kind are shown, two identified as those of the Holy Roman ambassador, one of the Persian, one of the Venetian, one of the Genoese and

the last without indication of nationality” (Mango & Yerasimos 6). Presumably these were pleasure boats used for short excursions. Other flat-bottomed barges are shown carrying bales of merchandise (Mango & Yerasimos 6).

While Lorichs’s great panorama was never equaled, it is worth mentioning by way of comparison a few later delineations of similar character. The closest in date is a water color a little more than one meter long, dating from ca. 1590.¹⁷ The same anonymous painter also made a general view of Galata and another of Üsküdar. All three have been published by Babinger.¹⁸ A considerably more accurate study is the view of Istanbul, once again across the Golden Horn, by the Swedish engineer Cornelius Loos (1710), now in the National Museum of Stockholm (Avcıoğlu 672-3).¹⁹ In general, it may be said that the pictorial record of the city made by European artists before about 1800 still remains scattered and imperfectly known. The extravagant albums by Antoine Ignace Melling and Choiseul-Gouffier are based on drawings of the late eighteenth century, but not issued before the beginning of the nineteenth, finally laid before the public a comprehensive coverage of the City of the Sultans.²⁰

3.2 – Architectural Studies

¹⁷ Vienna, National Library, cod. 8626.

¹⁸ Drei Stadtansichten von Konstantinopel, Galata (Pera) und Skutari aus dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts by Franz Babinger in 1959.

¹⁹ For information on Cornelius Loos see Semavi Eyice “18. Yüzyılda İstanbul’da İsveçli Cornelius Loos ve İstanbul Resimleri (1710’da İstanbul)” 18. Yüzyılda Osmanlı Kültür Ortamı, pages 91-131.

²⁰ For more information on the panoramas of the later periods see Necla Arslan Sevin Gravürlerde Yaşayan Osmanlı.

Melchior Lorichs's works on architecture are limited in number. There might be many reasons behind the lack of drawings on architectural themes by the painter. Considering the time he stayed in Constantinople (between 1555 and 1559), the Ottoman capital was in its formation phase. It had been conquered merely a hundred years ago, and Süleyman was the fourth sultan after its conquest. Ottoman Constantinople's monuments consisted of the Topkapı Palace, Yedikule, Mahmud Pasha Complex, Murad Pasha and Fatih Complex from the time of Mehmed the Conqueror. Out of these first monuments of the Ottoman dynasty in Constantinople, the Topkapı Palace had an important role as the court of sultan and a place where he received ambassadors. On one of these occasions, Melchior Lorichs might have entered the second courtyard with Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, although there are no drawings of the inside of the courtyard by him. In his panorama, Melchior Lorichs depicts the Topkapı Palace for which he gives the information about the courtyards of the palace written in the legend in his panorama.

Sheet 5

Between the Emperor's First and Second Gate are the servants of the lords, the grooms who hold the horses, dog-attendants, lackeys, falckners who must wait on the Emperor's lords as well as common people. (qtd. Mango & Yerasimos)²¹

Sheet 4

No one enters the Emperor's Third Gate except those who guard the Emperor's person and those who are known to him by name, such as Pashas and other lords, some ambassadors or emissaries, Bey, Beylerbeys, etc." To

²¹ Lorichs, M. (1559) Sheet 5 in his panorama.

the right, “Between the Second and the Third gate of Emperor is the Emperor’s Council where lords and ambassadors assemble and their best contingent of soldiers stand on foot, each in his own place, dressed in their best clothes. (qtd. Mango & Yerasimos)²²

In the case of Yedikule there is no single drawing in existence by Lorichs, but he again depicts the fortress in his panorama and includes a legend in which he also copies a part as mentioned in the previous sub-chapter by Vavassore.

Sheet 12

The Seven Towers, i.e. the New Castle wherein the Emperor keeps his treasure. Castel Novo dove sta il tesoro del gran Turco, by the sea in the direction of Gallipoli. The Turks call it Iedicula. (qtd. Mango & Yerasimos)²³

Melchior Lorichs is right in his information concerning the castle. Yedikule was built in 1454 by adding five towers to the existing two towers of the land walls of the city. It was built as a defensive measure but right after its completion it was used as a treasury until the reign of Murad III (1574-1595) (Yerasimos 2000 211). The Murad Pasha and Mahmud Pasha complexes are of the Bursa style building and the very first non-converted mosques of the city. The usage of brick resembles the old Byzantine basilicas in both mosques although this might be because of the origins of the builders or the pashas who were converted Christians of Greek origin, or due to insufficient stone supplies in the early years of the capital (Goodwin 115). Maybe the most important architectural drawing of Melchior Lorichs is his depiction

²² Lorichs, M. (1559) Sheet 4 in his panorama.

²³ Lorichs, M. (1559) Sheet 12 in his panorama.

of the Fatih Mosque. Although the drawing is clear and the shape of the mosque is distinct, it is not an architectural sketch, so there are no foundation plans and there is no scale included. Melchior Lorichs most likely drew the mosque because of its aesthetical importance for the skyline of Constantinople.

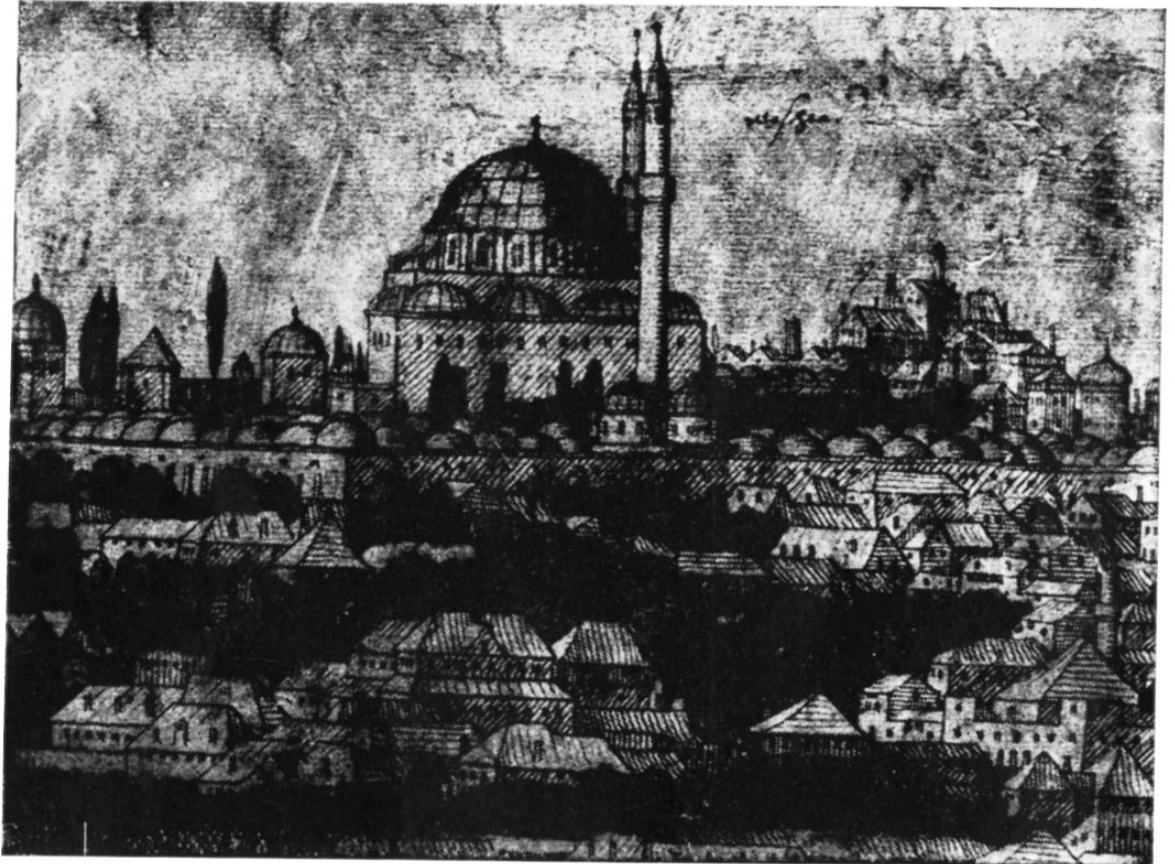


Figure 2 Old Fatih Mosque from Panorama of Constantinople (1559) by Melchior Lorichs

The Fatih Complex was built in 1470 on the grounds of the only demolished church of the conquest, the Church of the Holy Apostles. The architect is after known to be Atik Sinan, a nickname with which he is generally distinguished from Sinan, the great classical architect. Atik Sinan is believed to be a slave of Greek origin who was freed and commissioned to build the complex. He was executed on the order of Mehmed II who was dissatisfied with his work which he wished to surpass the Hagia Sophia (Yerasimos 2000 215). This drawing is of importance

because the original Fatih mosque was destroyed in an earthquake in 1766 and the rebuilt version was done according to the fashion of the 18th century. Melchior Lorichs's drawing is one of the few drawings of the old version of the Fatih mosque. Mehmed Aġaoġlu in his article claims that he was able to draw the floor plan of the mosque with the help of Melchior Lorichs's drawings and Evliya Çelebi's narratives (Aġaoġlu 1926 83-94)²⁴. Aġaoġlu in another article strengthens his points with further drawings by Lorichs and other illustrations (Aġaoġlu 1930 185). Moreover, Riefstahl uses Lorichs' drawing of the Old Fatih mosque, to prove his point in showing the resemblance between the Selimiye in Konya and the Old Fatih mosque this view is again pointed out in Goodwin's description of Selimiye mosque (Riefstahl 314). Thus, we can conclude that the drawing of the Old Fatih mosque by Melchior Lorichs is the most detailed surviving example depicting the mosque.

²⁴ Evliya Çelebi is without a doubt one of the best sources in dealing with the Ottoman Empire's monuments. As Evliya Çelebi aims to be precise about the information he provides, he is concerned with a detailed summary of the topography of the city and its population. Evliya Çelebi especially gives great importance to Islamic institutions. We see this inclination throughout his *Seyahatname*, since Evliya Çelebi was an Ottoman gentleman and, as Dankoff mentions, he was aspiring to become a member of the Ottoman elite. He believed in the power of the Ottoman Empire and tried to prove their superiority to the intended reader, who probably was also member Ottoman elite. (Dankoff 7-47) On the other hand, Evliya Çelebi was a *nedim* (companion), so the purpose of his writing was to entertain and show his intelligence. He is known to exaggerate facts to please his audience, and his writing should be read with a skeptical eye.

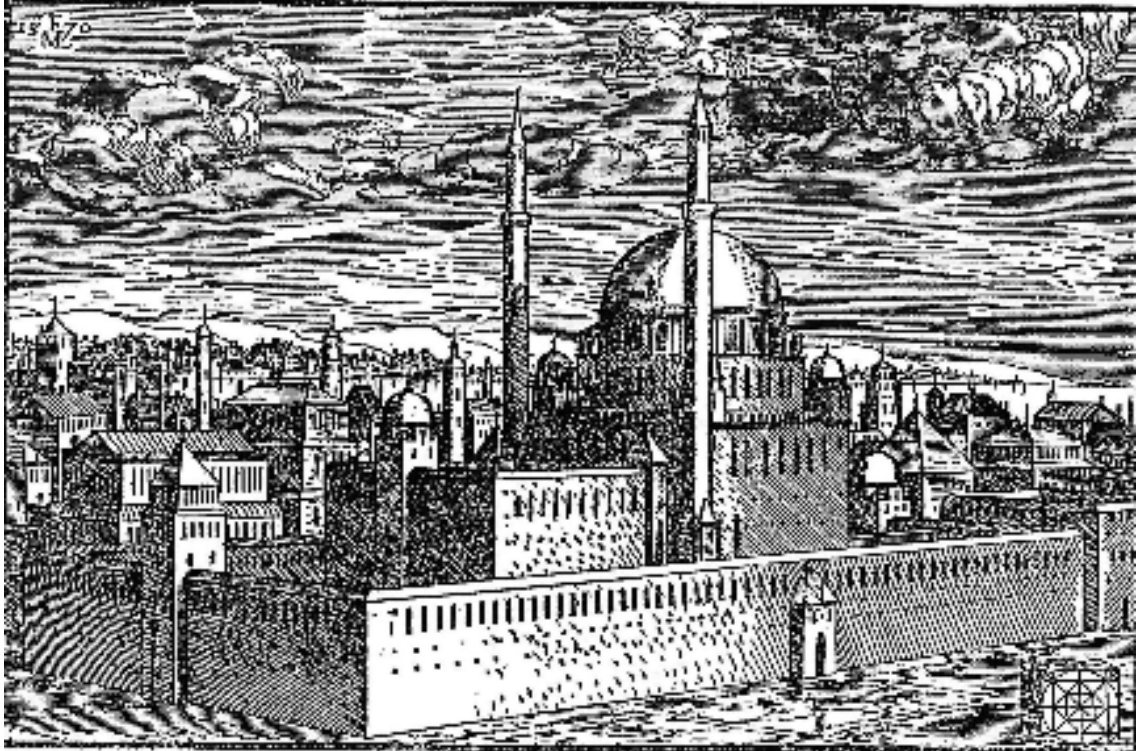


Figure 3 Old Fatih Mosque (West Angle) by Melchior Lorichs (1570)

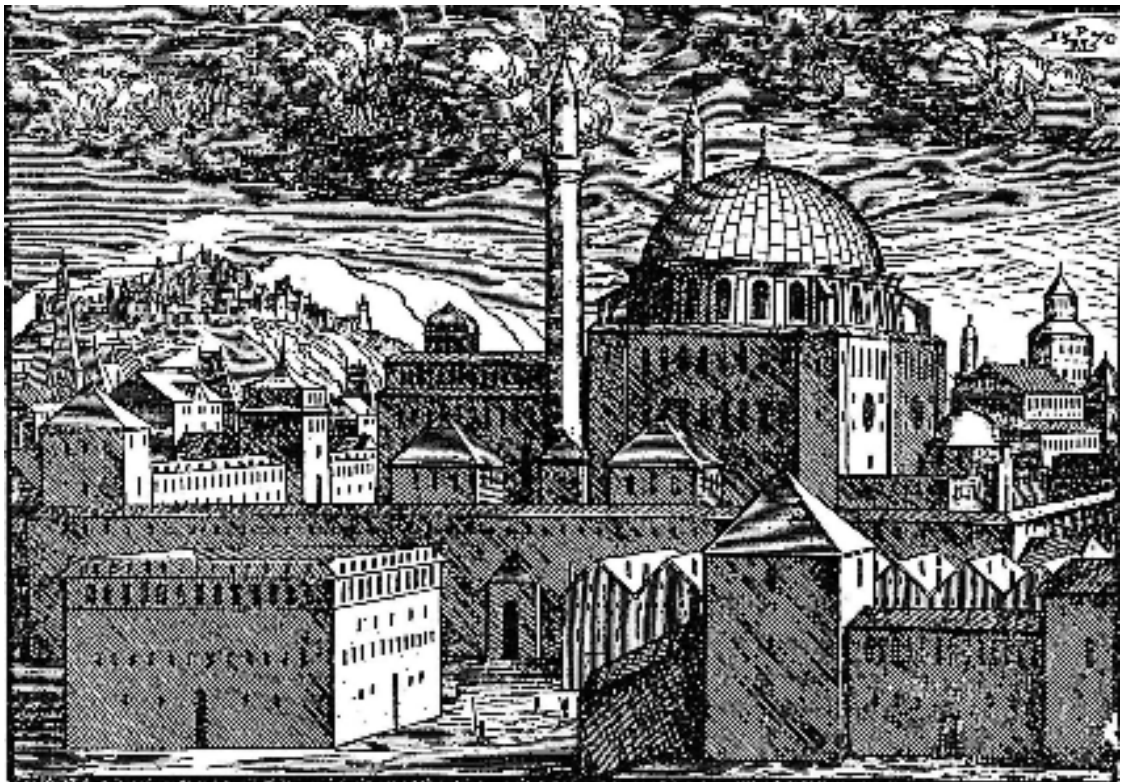


Figure 4 Old Fatih Mosque (North-East Angle) by Melchior Lorichs (1570)

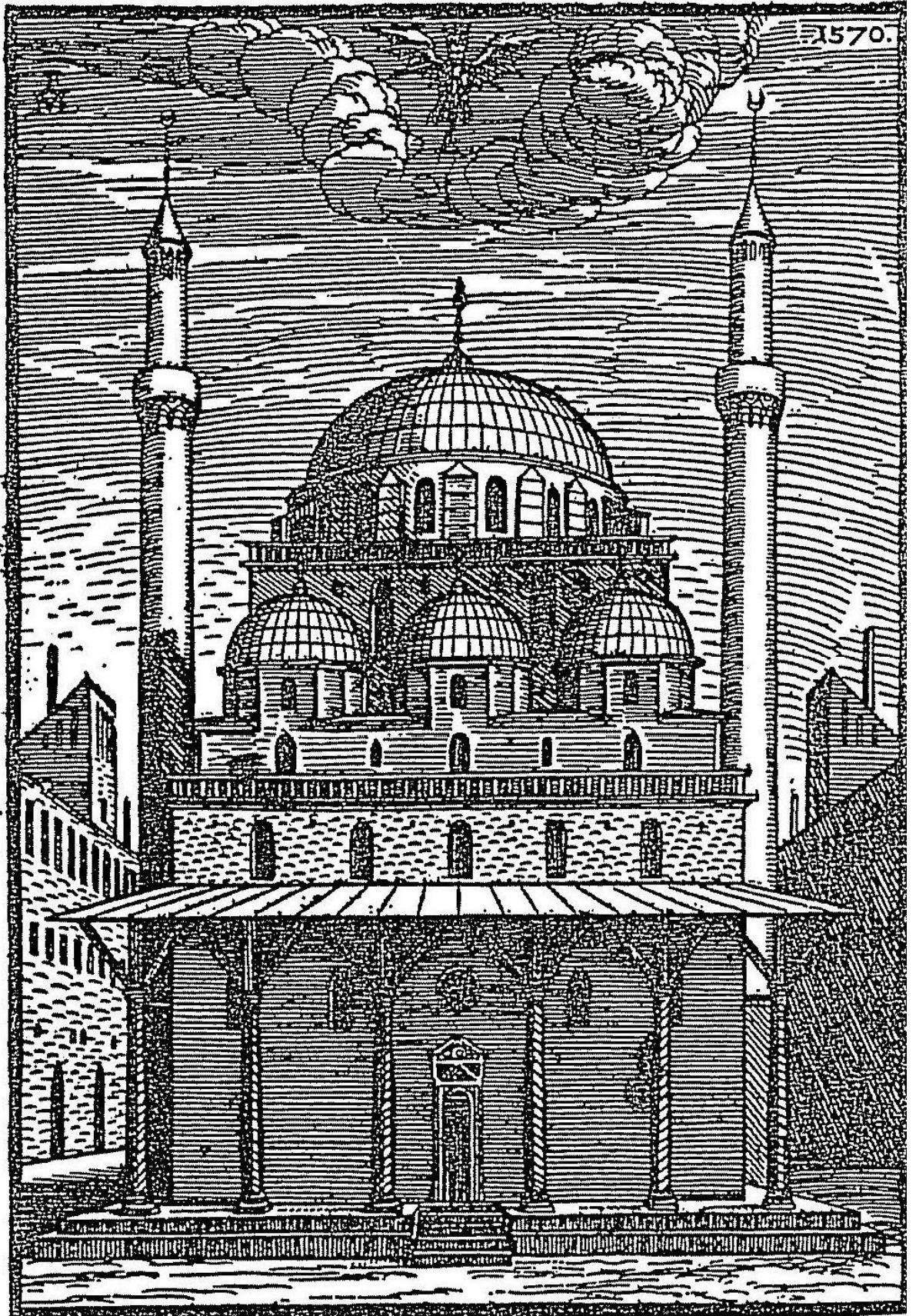


Figure 5 Old Fatih Mosque front facade by Melchior Lorichs (1570)

During Bayezid II's reign, the mosque of Atik Ali Pasha, the Çandarlı İbrahim Pasha Mosque and the Bayezid Complex were added to the city. All of these mosques are also depicted on the panorama of Constantinople. The Atik Ali Pasha Mosque is an open-winged, reverse-T shape in its foundation plan, and the Çandarlı İbrahim Mosque (also known as Atik İbrahim Mosque) was a magnificent building on the road to the open market. It had a large roof which can be seen from the panorama of Constantinople; its shape is also mentioned in the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi (Evliya Çelebi 10). Yet, the most innovative and magnificent building among them belong to Sultan Bayezid II. It was built between 1500 -1505. Bayezid II had it built on the old Forum of Theodosius. The complex gained importance from the standpoint of being a commercial and cultural center. The main dome of the mosque is supported by two half-domes and on the sides each by four small domes; thus, a more developed cover system has been achieved, which would be perfected in the next decades (Kuban 1987 83). Unfortunately Selim I, who succeeded Bayezid II, did not have any time for building projects because he was on campaign for most of his reign. On the other hand, in the time of Süleyman I we see the greatness of Ottoman architecture. Süleyman commissioned the complex of Selim I for his father; this complex is seen as an improved copy of the complex of Bayezid II in Edirne and believed to be built by Acem-i Ali or Esir Ali who was chief architect before Sinan (Goodwin 187). As his name indicates, he was from Persia and had been brought to Constantinople after the conquest of Tabriz by Selim I. Goodwin states that he was an exceptional military architect, and that the structures he built were very strong. This was the reason why he was selected to be the chief architect, not because there

were no architects in Constantinople so that the sultan had to import one (Goodwin 187).



Figure 6a Detail from Panorama of Constantinople by Melchior Lorichs (1559). From left to right Atik Ali Pasha Mosque, Byzantine tower, Çandarlı (Atik) İbrahim Pasha Mosque and Bayezid Mosque.

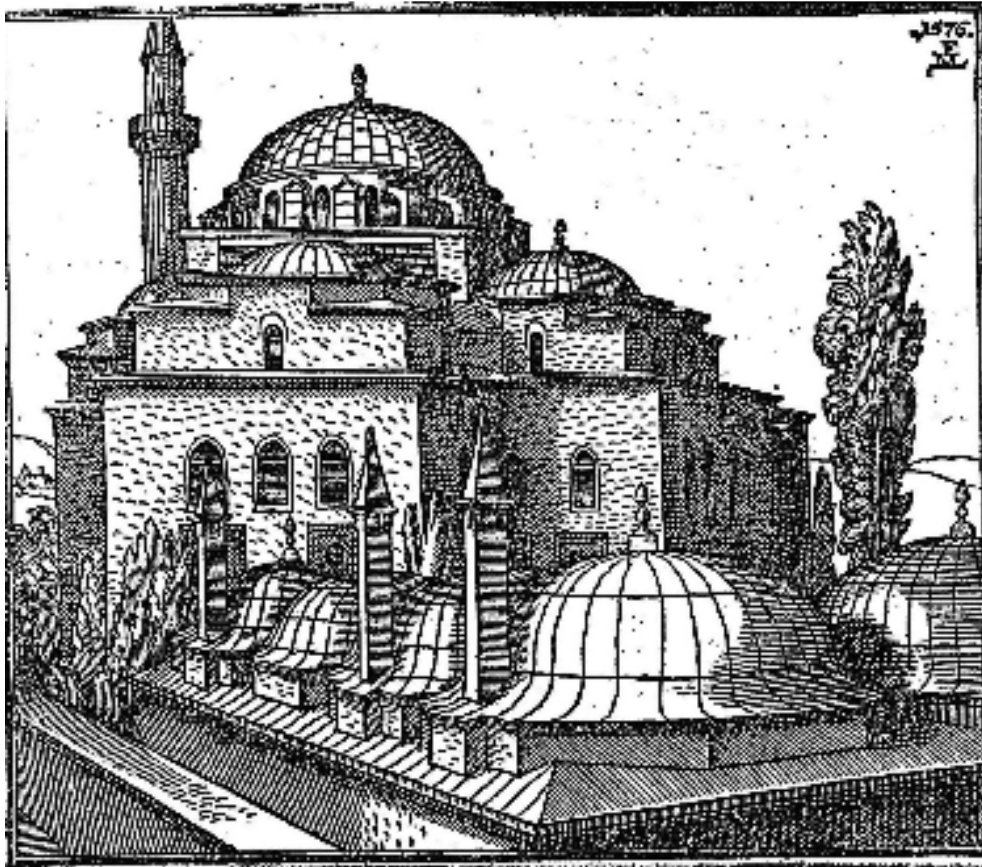


Figure 6b A Detailed engraving of the Atik Ali Pasha Mosque by Melchior Lorichs (1576)

As mentioned above, Sinan most likely succeeded to the post of chief architect and his first project was the building of Haseki Hürrem Complex. This was a hospital complex built in the name of Hürrem or Roxelane, the wife of Süleyman, in the Aksaray district of Constantinople. Although it was built in the time of Sinan, the unusual design and the shape of the courtyard, suggests that it was started by Sinan's predecessor and finished by him (Goodwin 205). Süleyman's next project commissioned to the architect Sinan was the Şehzade Mosque, built allegedly to honor the son of Süleyman, Mehmed, who had died of small pox at the age of 21. On the other hand, this structure is also believed to be the first Süleymaniye (Yerasimos 2000 254). The last monument to be built in Constantinople during Melchior

Lorichs's stay was the Süleymaniye Complex. It was commissioned by Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent in 1557 and designed by the architect Sinan. The Süleymaniye Complex represented as the second and most important stage in an architectural tradition which began with the Fatih Complex, namely symmetrical grouping and the use of geometric shaping in the layout of the complex buildings (Kuban 1996 215). Of unprecedented size and architectural design, the Süleymaniye Complex includes a mosque, medrese, hospital, lunatic asylum, infirmary, tombs, hamam, market and a primary school (Necipoğlu 2005 210). Mosques, which were the most important features of the silhouette of Constantinople, were not just places of worship. The complexes and neighborhoods which surrounded them made them into the focus of social and cultural life, an institution which characterized city life (Kuban 1996 259). The Süleymaniye Mosque and Complex incorporate the art and genius of Sinan, the greatness and strength of the Ottomans, and the beauty and elegance of Ottoman Architecture in the age of Süleyman the Magnificent (Erzen 74). Indeed, this was proven in the foundation deed of the Süleymaniye Mosque:

If decorating the temple with silver and gold would agree with the religion of Islam and the laws of his Excellency, the Prophet, we would certainly have adorned it with gold and silver; its wall and doors would have been studded with rubies and pearls to honor the temple and God in gratitude for his benevolence. But for the said reasons we have decided against it, focusing instead on a solid architectural construction. (Yerasimos 2000 260)

The marble-covered inner courtyard is entered through a magnificent three-storey door the likes of which are seen in no other mosque in Istanbul. The courtyard contains a pool and a fountain. Again unlike the other mosques, the four minarets stand in the four corners of the courtyard. The proportion exhibited by the minarets

and the domes is a product of genius. The domes rise from the ground to a height of 50 meters, and the minarets, located where the courtyard meets the walls of the mosque, have three galleries and are 76 meters high (Yerasimos 2000 261). The minarets located at the side of the courtyard with the entrance to galleries are 56 meters high. This proportion is the key to the perfection of the mosque silhouette (Kuban 1996 263). The mosque has a main dome supported by two half-domes in the same shape as Haghia Sophia. Sinan used this dome structure only on two of his mosque, one being the Süleymaniye, the other the Kılıç Ali Mosque (Kuban 1987 84). Kuban mentions that this selection was done on the accord of the patron rather than the architect (Kuban 1996 259). In accordance with the design of the domes, the acoustics within the mosque are exceptionally clear. The air circulation within the mosque is also exceptional, and the space above the entrance was illuminated by candles. Soot obtained from the candles was one of the raw materials in the making of ink used for calligraphy (Cantay 34). The marble pulpit and mosque niches are works of art in the field of engraving and carving. The carved *mihrap* of the preacher, the windows and doors made of wood inlaid with mother of pearl, the stained-glass windows and other decorative features of the mosques have a low profile, and the emphasis in the interior of the mosque is decoration through calligraphy. Calligraphy was selected from the Quran by Ebüssuud Efendi the *şeyhülislam*²⁵ of Süleyman the Magnificent, to emphasize the role of the sultan as the protector of orthodox Islam (Bağcı 739). In Islamic tradition, showing much grandeur is considered sacrilegious and, thus, the focus is done on the interior of the building. In the case of mosques, this norm had been violated since the Umayyad Period when monumental mosques starting with the Dome of Rock and the Mosque

²⁵ The *şeyhülislam* is the head of the *ulema*, the body of experts on religious law

of Damascus were built (Necipoğlu 1993 169). Reminiscence of this thought continued, with more lavish interior decors than the outer décor up until the 19th century.

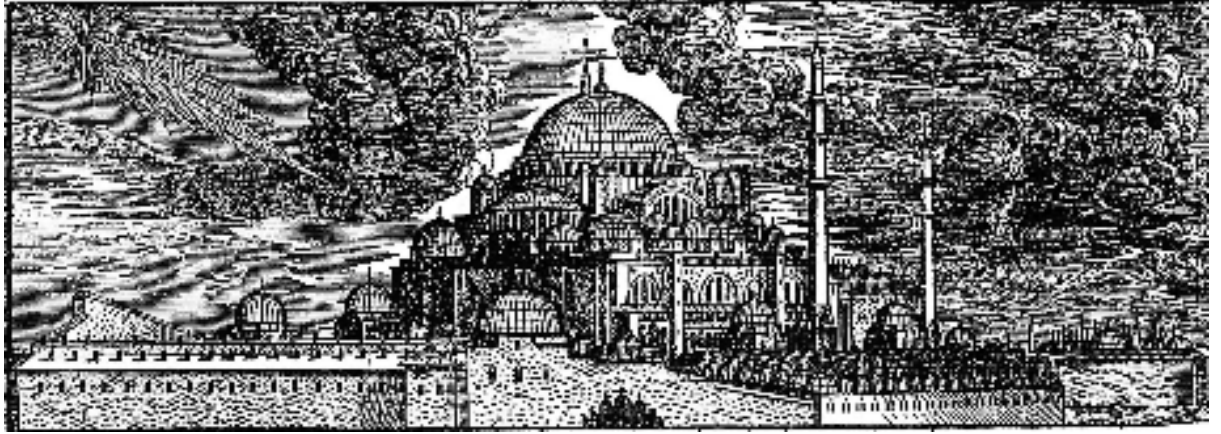


Figure 7 Süleymaniye Mosque by Melchior Lorichs

The Süleymaniye was of great significance to Melchior Lorichs who was living right across it while he was in Constantinople. Elçi Han, mentioned in Chapter II, was allocated to the Holy Roman Emperor's embassy, and it was across the building site. Considering the time when Melchior Lorichs stayed in Constantinople (1555-1559) we can say that he saw the ending phase of construction and the newly erected monument from a well-placed vantage point. The drawing of the Süleymaniye Mosque is true to nature as Erik Fischer claims (Fischer 1990 6). Indeed, it was well drawn by the artist and used in his portrait of Süleyman and his panorama as well.

Excluding his panorama, Melchior Lorichs drew mosques some of which we are able to identify but some are distinct in shape and do not correspond to any known mosques of Constantinople. The engravings of these mosques were done in 1570 and are most likely variations of the mosques of Süleyman and Fatih (Figure 8).

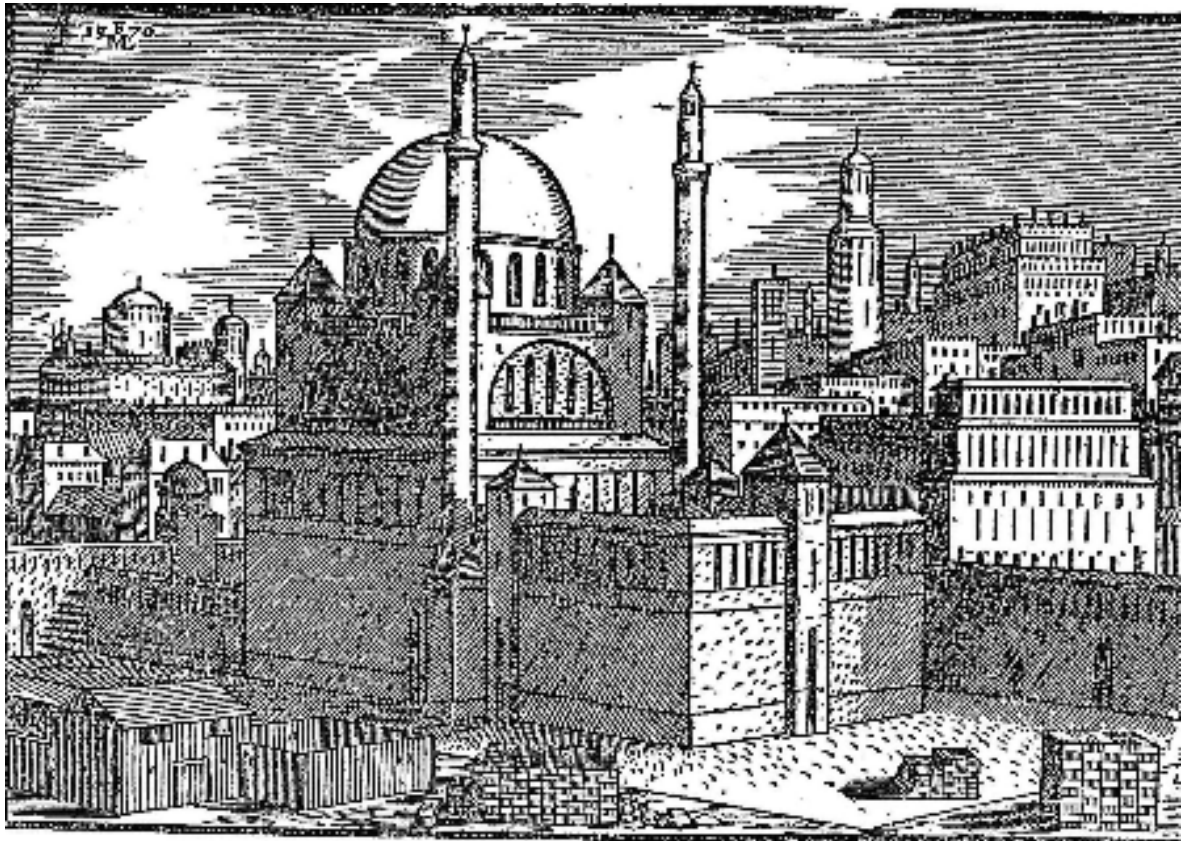


Figure 8 A variation of Fatih Mosque (1570)

In addition to his mosque drawings, Melchior Lorichs drew the streets of Constantinople with wooden minarets rising in the middle of the roads to call the Muslims to prayer and houses with minarets (Figure 9). Some features of these drawings are certainly fictional, such as dragons flying in the air (Figure 10). On the other hand, Melchior Lorichs's depiction of daily life of Constantinople is of some value, especially in terms of showing local architectural styles. A good example for this is his drawing of a Turkish tent which was used frequently in the 16th century (Figure 11). Ottomans, coming from a nomadic tradition, often used tents, both on military campaigns, which were common all over the world, but also in their cities during festivals (Atasoy 14). There are countless examples of circumcision festivals in which tents were erected and festivities occurred such as archery, javelin-throwing

competitions, and the like (Çiçekciler & Çürük 5-6). Many similar tent illustrations can be found in the miniatures of Nakkaş Osman, Levni, Matrakçı Nasuh and many other artists in various volumes of historiographies and biographies.

Overall, we can say that Melchior Lorichs depicted many buildings, and his most known architectural drawing is his depiction of Old Fatih Mosque, due to its historical significance and the rarity of a visual image of the old version of the mosque. Although there is no evidence supporting that Melchior Lorichs's drawing of the mosque entirely accurate, there is sufficient proof that it is close to the original.

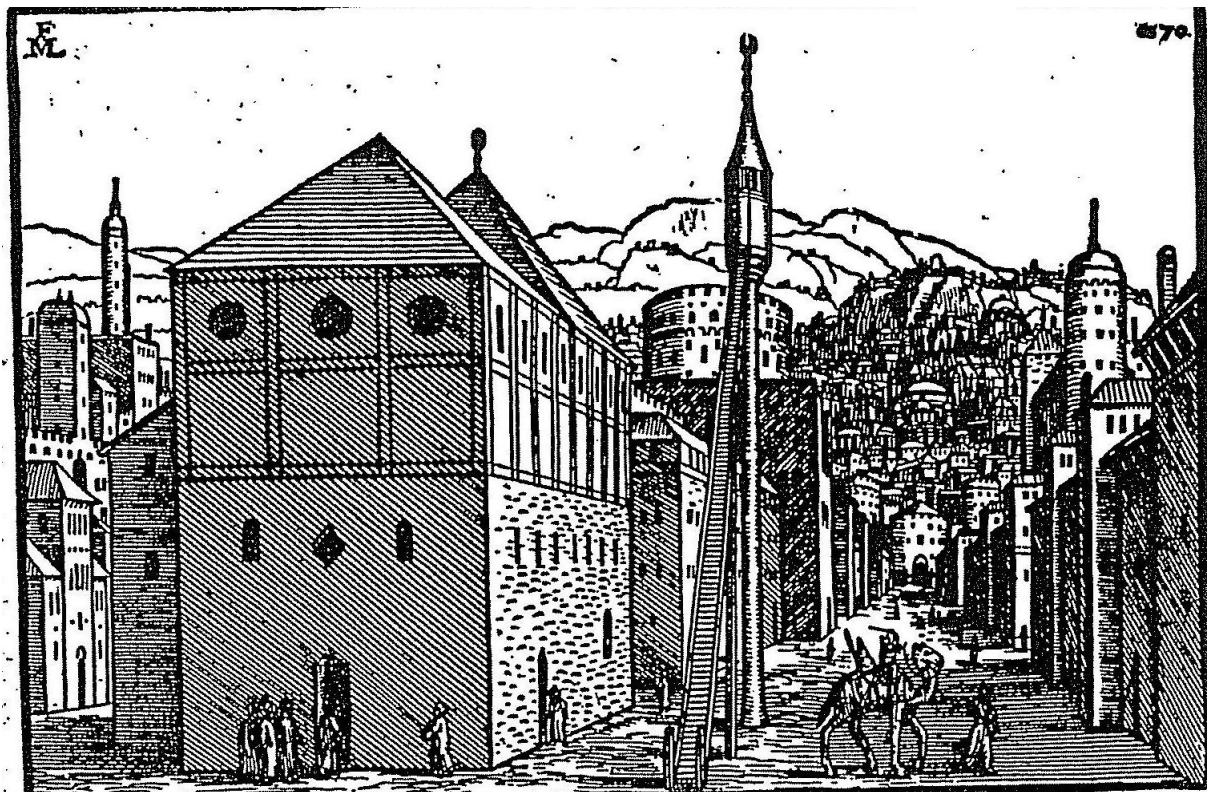


Figure 9 Streets of Constantinople by Melchior Lorichs (1570)



Figure 10 Streets of Constantinople by Melchior Lorichs (1570)



Figure 11 Study of a tent by Melchior Lorichs

3.3 – Studies of Antiquities

By the time Melchior Lorichs came to the Ottoman Empire, it already consisted of much of the ancient world: Greece, Asia Minor, Lebanon, Egypt, and even the fabled lands of Mesopotamia. Of course, by the 16th century there were no entrepreneurs like Henry Layard or Heinrich Schliemann who came to these lands to excavate the riches of the ancients²⁶. However with the Renaissance and the Reformation, the idea of re-discovering the lost knowledge of the ancients was rising in Europe. Learned humanists of the age read Greek epics by Homer, travelogues by Herodotus and plays by Sophocles, Euripides, and so forth (Daniell & Foster 35). In their search of knowledge many of the humanists visited Rome and had the privilege to see the places described in the Latin texts by Ovid, Cicero, and other writers.²⁷ They were not able to see Greek peninsula due to constant warfare. Melchior Lorichs was one of the lucky few who had the privilege to see these hidden lands. Although calling him a humanist might be over-extending his stature, he was interested in the Ancients and their culture and knowledge. As mentioned in Chapter II he even wrote to King Frederick II of Denmark in 1563 that he went to the Ottoman Empire to study classical works of art and to gain experience (Fischer 1990 10). Thus, it is reasonable to assume that Melchior Lorichs went to the East to study classical works

²⁶ For more information on the life and achievements of Heinrich Schliemann see David A. Trail's Schliemann of Troy: Treasure and Deceit. For Henry Layard Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon; with Travels in Armenia, Kurdistan and the Desert Part 1 and 2 by himself.

²⁷ Thought a tourist rather than a humanist Thomas Coryat (jester to the court of James I) who also visited the Ottoman lands at the beginning of the 17th century quotes writers of antiquity in their own language (either Greek or Latin) when he describes the ruins he saw in the Dardanelles, such as Hesiod, Homer, Ovid. "Master Thomas Coryate's Travels to, and Observations in Constantinople, and other Places in his Way, thither; And his Journey thence to Aleppo, Damasco and Jerusalem." Coryat's Crudities Vol.3.1611

of art. Melchior Lorichs most likely never stepped on Greek peninsula but he stayed in Constantinople for more than three years.

Constantinople had already been capital of two empires (Byzantine and Ottoman) by the 16th century. Yet, the city's founding date and history even predates these two empires. Around the 7th century BCE the city was founded and named after its alleged founder "Byzas" (Dominian 60). It was considered as a Greek colony populated by Megarans, yet the name Byzas is a Thracian name in origin (Yerasimos 2000 8). It is logical to assume that the city was founded by Greeks with the help of local Thracian tribes. It was a free city until the Persian invasion of King Darius I in 582 BCE, then it was conquered by Athenians. During the Peloponnesian Wars the city changed hands to Spartans in 405 BCE. When Alexander moved east to conquer Persia he bypassed Byzantium, and the city was a free state, and it kept this status in the wake of war after the death of Alexander. In 132 BCE, the city was conquered and integrated to Roman rule. On the other hand, it was not until the time of Constantine the Great that the city became a metropolis. Due to heavy corruption and lack of resources the Roman Empire was in decline by the time of Constantine and could not revitalize the empire and secure the eastern lands which were the main source of the economy and culture. Constantine shifted the power centre from Rome to his new city which was first named as "New Rome" rather than Constantinople. Constantine can be considered the real founder of city. To form his new capital he increased the population and the area of the city proper. He also commissioned the relocation of monuments from other cities of the Roman Empire to Byzantium. It can be said that Byzantium was enriched with the treasures of other cities. Yet, Constantine also made a significant change in social order: he declared the empire's religion as Christianity. So the new city was born as a Christian city. By the time of

Constantine, Christians constituted roughly ten percent of the population and were mainly concentrated in the eastern part of the empire, clustered in cities rather than the countryside (Mango 2002 96). Constantine's intention was to build a new center for the Roman Empire but instead the city became a capital for a new empire which would be called by its name Byzantine Empire. Also the city name "New Rome" had lost its appeal, and it was called by its second founder's name: Constantinople, the city of Constantine. The city continued its growth under Constantine's successors who also built many structures to commemorate events or to sustain the needs of city. To facilitate the fresh water supplies, Valens built large aqueducts in the 4th century, and cisterns were built to keep water supplies by consecutive emperors. Theodosius built the famous land walls to protect the city from invasions of nomadic hordes. Monasteries that were already present by the time of Constantine increased in number, and many churches were commissioned by the elite. Yet, none of these accomplishments could pass the great Cathedral of Haghia Sophia commissioned by Justinian and designed by Anthemios of Trales and Isodoros of Miletus. The Haghia Sophia became the symbol of the emperor's might and piety. In addition many columns were erected to commemorate victories of emperors such as the Column of Constantine, the Arcadian Column, the Marcian Column, and the Justinian Column. Unfortunately many of the art work created by Roman/Byzantine Monarchs were heavily damaged or lost during the Fourth Crusade in 1204 (Talbot 243). Even after the re-conquest by the Palaiologan dynasty in 1261 the empire's fiscal state and the diminishing population of the city led to decay in many structures. Not until the conquest of the city by Mehmed II did the city gain its population and repairs to its monuments were made, which mainly consisted of churches converted to mosques in the time of Bayezid II (İnalçık 2001 93).

As can be seen, Melchior Lorichs came to an ancient city with many monuments surviving until the 16th century. Contrary to his wish to depict ancient works, the physical evidence of his stay, which are no doubt his pictures which he sketched in Ottoman lands, consist only a handful of engravings depicting ancient monuments.

Most of his works can not be identified, yet, we can conclude some information just by examining their surroundings. One of the pieces he chose to draw is the base of the Column of Constantine. The Column of Constantine (currently known as Çemberlitaş) was erected by Constantine I to commemorate the foundation of New Rome. It was 50 m high and made of nine cylinder porphyry blocks surmounted by a statue of Constantine in the figure of Apollo (Fowden 123). It was clearly showing that Constantine continued the tradition of divine emperor in which the emperor is deified. Yet, Constantine already permitted the Christian religion in his empire and supported the churches. Constantine also placed in the statue pieces of the true cross and nails used to crucify Jesus. This gesture of mixing old tradition and new religion was a step for the spread of Christianity (Mango 2002 96-119). In addition, the rules of religion were not formalized. This was partially solved in Council of Nicaea in 325. The statue and the three top drums fell during a storm in 1106. Later, Manuel Komnenos I put a cross on the top and an inscription of his deed to the column. During the Latin occupation bronze links connecting the nine blocks were taken off to be reused. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottomans the cross was taken down. At the time of Melchior Lorichs, the other features of the column should have stayed intact (column still stands in the Historic Peninsula of Istanbul). The drawing shown in Figure 12 was drawn by Melchior Lorichs as can be deduced from his monogram, although the date is unknown. This relief is without a

doubt the base of a column. Delbrueck claims this to be the base of Column of Constantine (Delbrueck 141). Indeed, the base fits the column. The number of steps below the first drum is the same in shape and style. The only feature that we can be unsure of is the relief which no longer exists is itself. Mango claims that none of the other travelers depict or mention a relief such as this even though he agrees with Delbrueck's assumption (Mango 1965 310). Most Byzantine art historians accept this, relief to be the base of the column before the 16th century.²⁸ What happened to the relief between the Melchior Lorichs drawing and the drawing made by Freshfield in 1574 is unknown (Mango 1965 305-13).

The base of the Column of Constantine was not the only relief that Melchior Lorichs depicted. He also drew the base of the Theodosius Column on the Hippodrome. This engraving is first published by Harbeck (figure 13) (Harbeck 1910 28-32). The Column of Theodosius was actually an obelisk erected in Egypt at the Temple of Karnak by Thutmose III in 1471 BCE (Yerasimos 2000 30). Later this obelisk was commissioned to be transported to Constantinople by Constantine I, like other monuments. Constantine died before the obelisk arrived to the city. His son Constantius erected the obelisk in Rome and it finally arrived its intended destination in the reign of Theodosius I. Theodosius commissioned the marble base to commemorate his victory over usurpers to the throne (Bassett 94). Melchior Lorichs's engraving is somewhat different from the original in small details. These engravings were done from his sketches after he arrived in Vienna; this small mistake could have been omitted (such as the difference in the number of people on the upper left-hand side of the relief, or the gender of four figures in the centre). The inscription in the engraving is also a nearly perfect copy of the original (figure 14)

²⁸ <http://www.byzantium1200.com/forum-c.html>

Melchior Lorichs's characters are legible, on the other hand, some characters in the original could not be read by looking alone because of erosion due to wind, rain, and the like, but by touching the material.

Columns are his only studies considering reliefs. Lorichs must have been fascinated by the concept of sarcophagi. There are four different sarcophagi studies in his album published after his death in 1626. He most likely sketched them on the way to Constantinople, or on his way back. Busbecq used the land route to Vienna on both of his embassy journey. This road was the Via Militaris an ancient road. The road started from Vienna, continues to Belgrade, Nis, Sofia, Adrianopolis, and then ended in Constantinople. Lorichs also engraved a sarcophagus (figure 15) in Philippopolis (modern day Plovdiv), which is on the same road. The design on the base of this sarcophagus is very interesting; currently there are no other examples of this shape. All four of the sarcophagi are similar in shape to Byzantine sarcophagi. It is not possible to detect their material from engravings alone, and all of the original sarcophagi are none existent today. The resemblance to imperial sarcophagi emerges from a comparison with remaining sarcophagi in the garden of the Istanbul Archeological Museum which surely prove their origin to be Byzantine rather than of earlier periods (Mango 1962 398). Vasiliev points out that most of the sarcophagi in the city were plundered after the conquest, and that they were vandalized (Vasiliev 18). Yet, an engraving dating to 1557 by Melchior Lorichs clearly shows an intact sarcophagus in the garden of a pasha (figure 16). In the background we can clearly see the Süleymaniye Mosque which was finished in 1557. The German writing below the engraving confirms it to be the "New Mosque of the Emperor." The remaining two sarcophagi do not have the signature of Melchior Lorichs. Yet, both of them are from the same album which was published in 1626. One of them has the

same handwriting in German below it, explaining that it was in Selymbria (Silivri). This sarcophagus also has a background consisting of a hill town most likely Selymbria (figure 17). The sarcophagus also has intricate designs on the front and the right-hand side, similar to shield decoration with leaves, stars and disks. All stars in the shields are eight pointed, all leaves are eight in number, and the disks are eight in total. The last sarcophagus is unadorned and different in shape from the others. In the background there is a tree, and the German writing below the engraving is hardly legible.

Contrary to his wish, Melchior Lorichs did not draw many works of antiquity. In fact of the number of engravings he made consisting the group of antiquities is the smallest one compared to other subject which sparked his interest. Also, the pieces he chose to engrave are mostly minor structures excluding both columns. There is no evidence that he tried to draw the ancient Hippodrome or the Haghia Sophia (if we exclude his panorama) which is puzzling in itself. There might be some reason behind his selection: by the time the Haghia Sophia was a converted mosque, and although we see examples of the mosques drawings in his portfolio, mosques he chose to depict are mostly the ones closest to his living quarter, the Elçi Han. The same is true for drawings of the Column of Constantine and the Column of Theodosius, which were both easily accessible to the artist unlike the Haghia Sophia. His studies of sarcophagi are like a road map, showing his route on the Balkans where he was able to draw his first sketches more easily. Also the lack of works on antiquities could be the result of the fact that the publication was about Ottoman life and, more interestingly, the Ottoman military, rather than on the antiquities of the Ancient world.



Figure 12 Base of the Column of Constantine by Melchior Lorichs (1561)

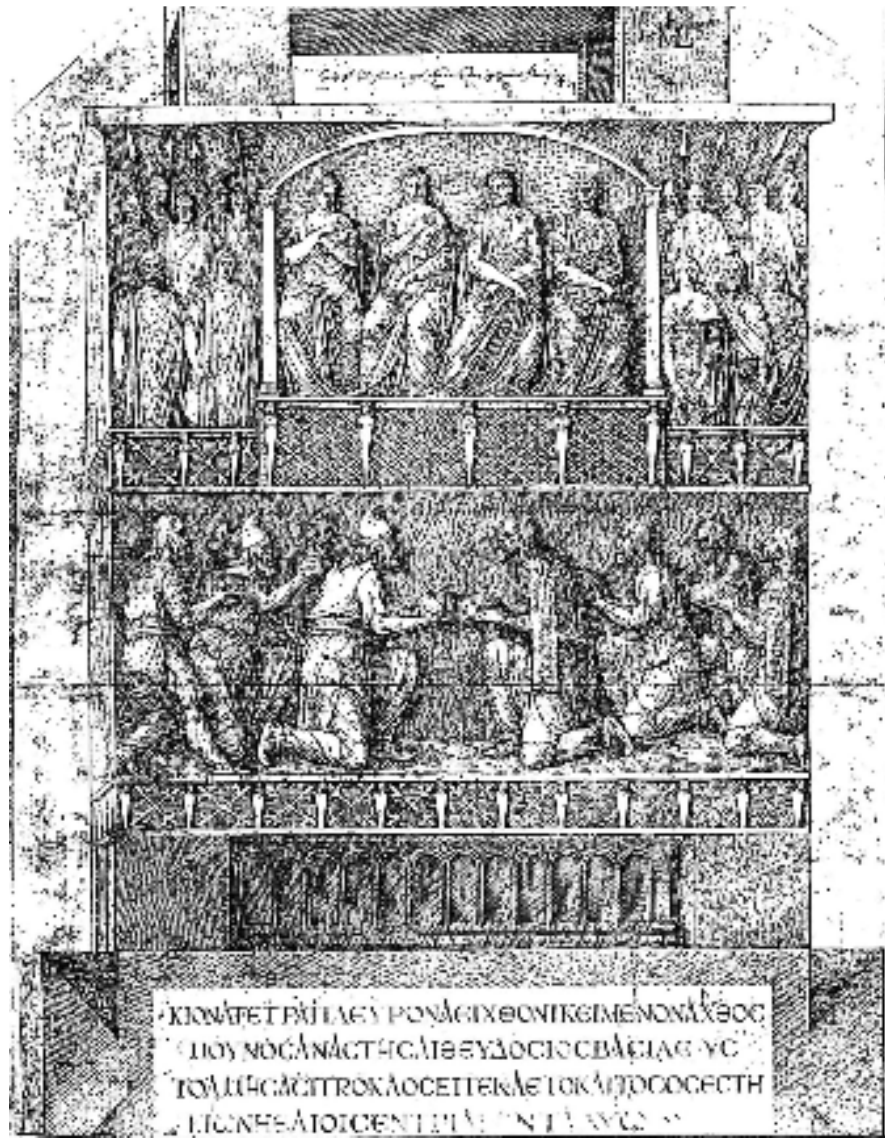


Figure 13 Base of Column of Theodosius by Melchior Lorichs (1559)



Figure 14 Base of Column of Theodosius

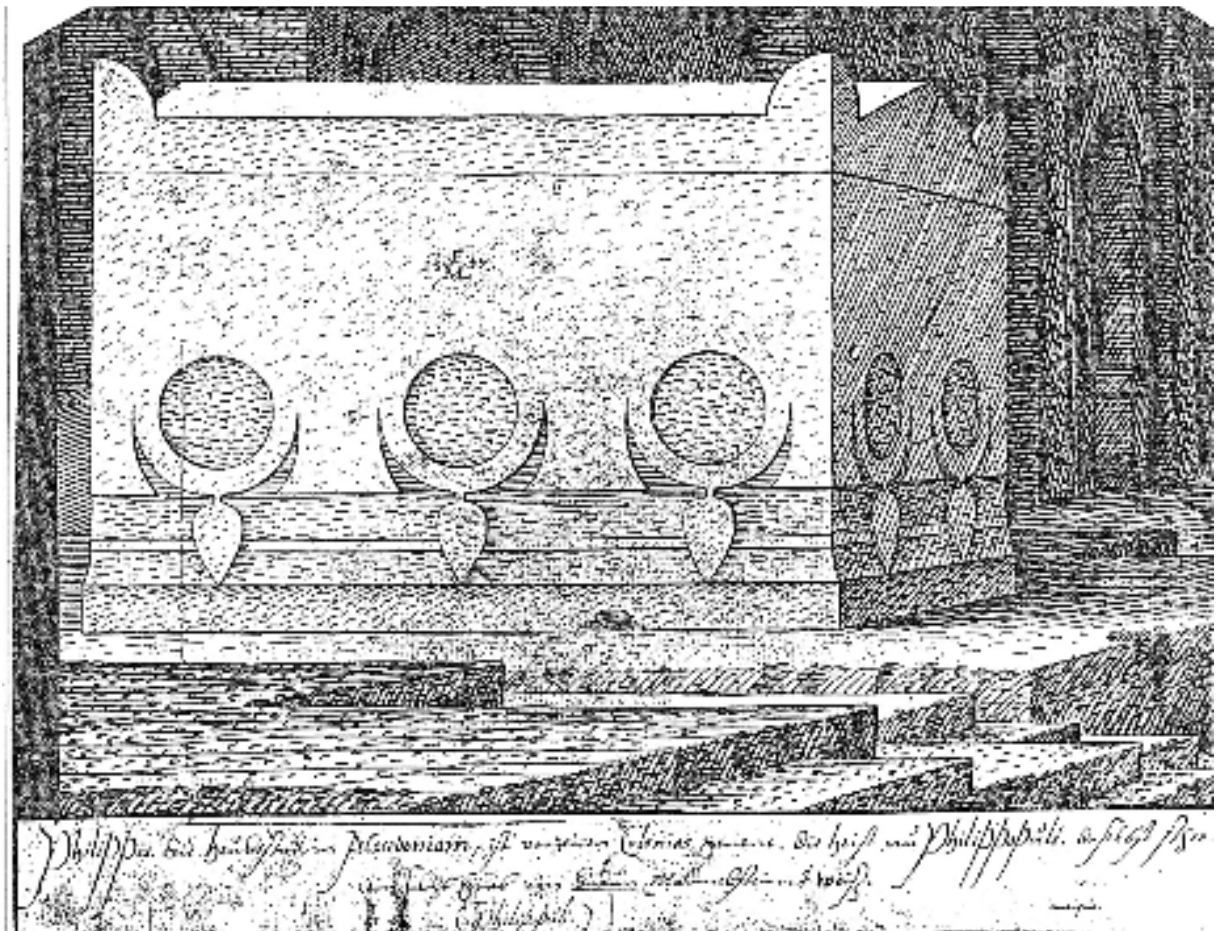


Figure 15 Engraving of a sarcophagus by Melchior Lorichs (1557) German writing below the engraving points it to Philipopolis (Plovdiv)

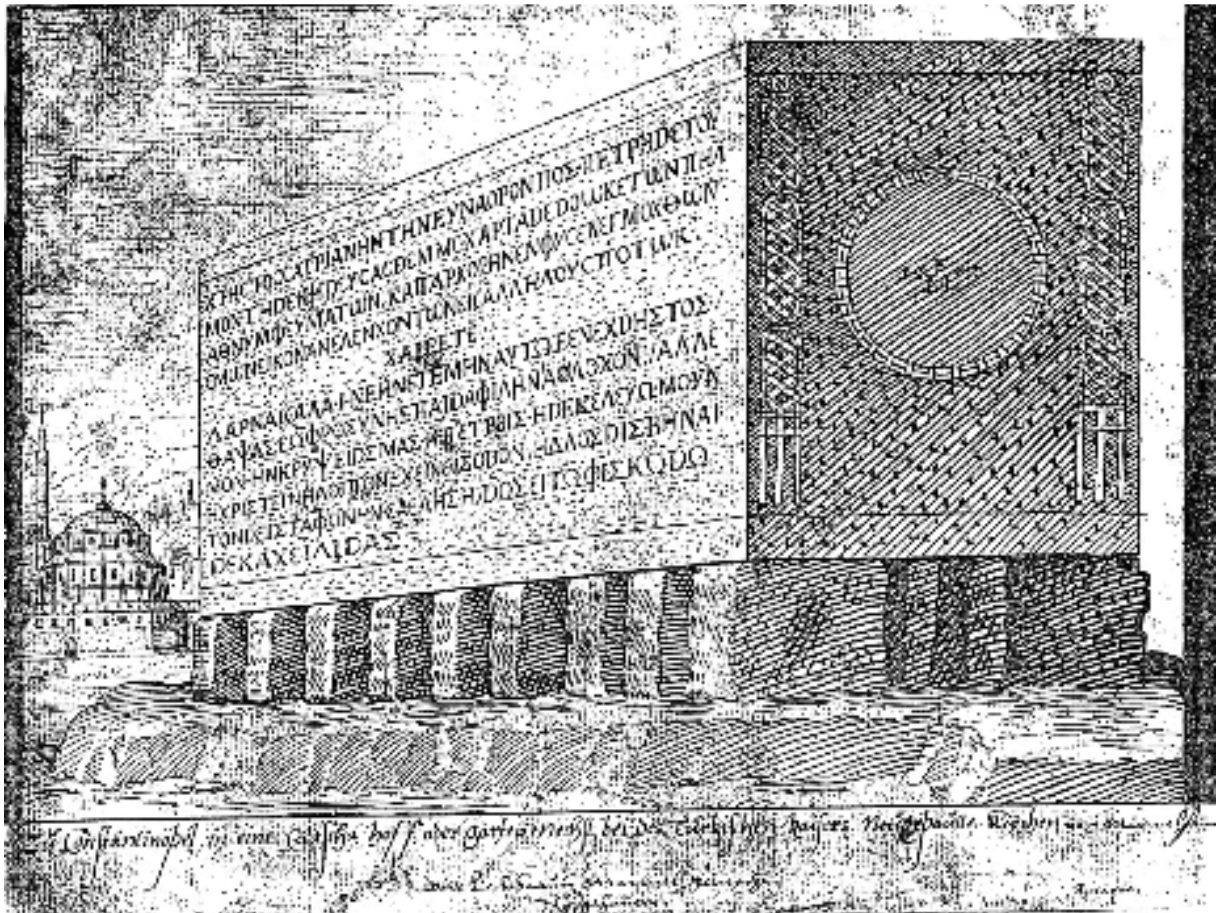


Figure 16 Engraving of a sarcophagus by Melchior Lorichs (1557) German writing below the engraving points it to Constantinople

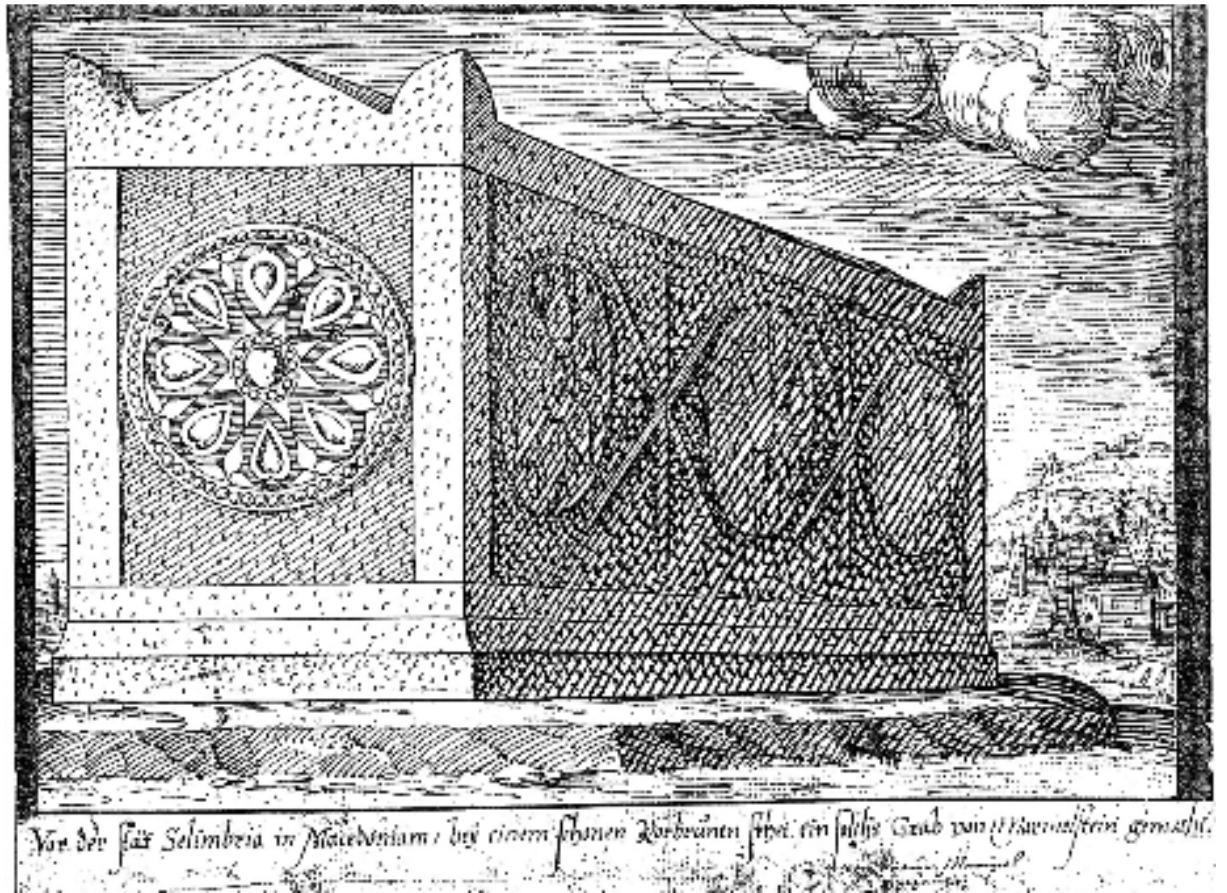


Figure 17 An engraving of a Sarcophagus attributed to Melchior Lorichs

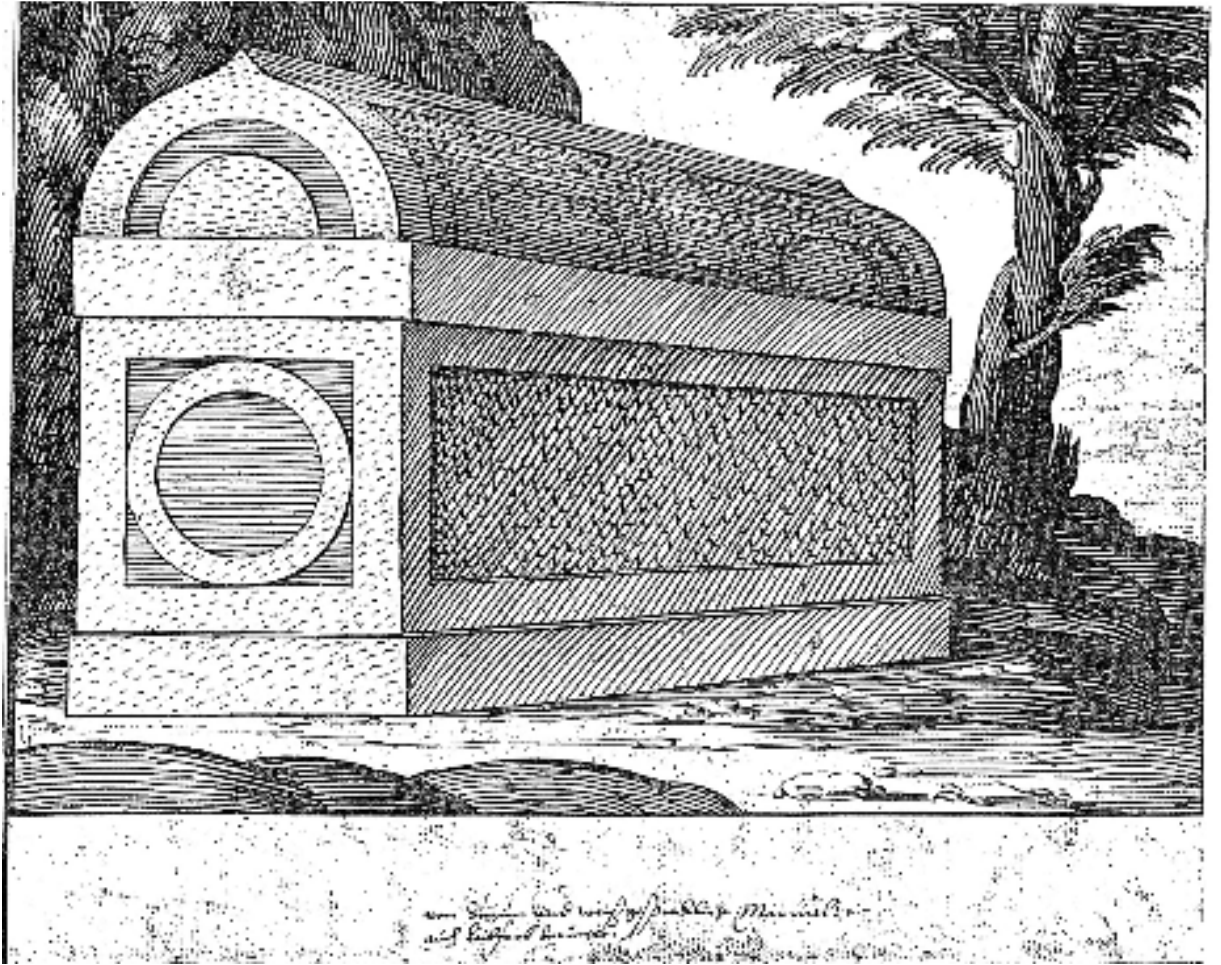


Figure 18 An engraving of a Sarcophagus attributed to Melchior Lorichs

3.4 - Single Images and Portraits

Although Melchior Lorichs mentions in his autobiographical letter his wish to publish works on antiquities for Frederick II of Denmark in 1563, he rather chose to send him a portrait of Sultan Süleyman. Unlike his wish in his letter he published a similar portrait in a small book in 1574. From his actions, we can deduce that he chose to omit the subject of antiquities in favor of ethnographic work. This project, which was never realized in his life time, was called *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren* (well-engraved and cut figures). The majority of the engraving that survived

to our day consists of the parts of this book which was published in 1626. It is not unexpected that Melchior Lorichs continued his passion for costumes and exotic objects in this unpublished work, which constituted the bulk of his engravings. In this book, unfortunately, there are no explanatory lines under most of the engravings. Thus, it is hard to point out which image presented whom or what in some cases. It is fortunate that Melchior Lorichs's contemporary, Nicolas de Nicolay published *Les navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*, a costume album in the same period, with similar drawings. Yet, Nicolas de Nicolay was inferior to Melchior Lorichs in his understanding of the material (Ward-Jackson 88). Lorichs stayed in the Ottoman Empire longer than any of his contemporaries and had the opportunity to draw various subjects, unlike a single dedicated work like Nicolas de Nicolay's travelogue. Even among his various subjects, the drawing of single images and portraits holds the vast majority, especially in the *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren*. Unlike Nicolas de Nicolay, Melchior Lorichs chose to depict principally armed men, both equestrian and foot soldiers. It is not an unlikely choice given Melchior Lorichs is from and whom he took as his influences. The middle of the 16th century was a time of constant warfare in Europe, and since, the 1520s the Turkish threat to German lands was imminent. German people were aware of the danger from the East, and from the 1520s to the 1550s there is a rise in the publication of *Türkenbüchlein* (Bohnstedt 3). These pamphlets were mostly anti-Turkish propaganda pieces, widely distributed among the German Principalities regardless of their position in the Reformation. In most of the pamphlets, Turks were shown as the arch-enemy of Christianity. Turks were seen as a force of nature to punish the sinners, and their success was attributed to the lack of faith in the Christians and the corruption of the Church. There is a good chance that Melchior Lorichs believed this

since in his book *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss*, he says:

Between us Christians and the Turks; there is a perpetual enmity and antagonism, which can never be laid aside or made up, until one side destroys the other, roots it up and throws it to ground. (Harbeck 1911 105)

In addition to these observations, he also wrote a poem *Ein liedt vom Türken und Antichrist*, Hamburg, 1568 (A song about the Turks and Antichrist), as mentioned in the previous chapter. His experience in Constantinople with the Ottoman authorities might have strengthened his belief. As Busbecq mentions in his *Turkish Letters*, the embassy delegation was under house arrest most of their stay. It is very natural for an artist from the Dürer School to believe that the Turks were a danger to Christianity and show their military might to educate the German public. Dürer in his lifetime also used Turks in religious paintings as persecutors or enemies of Christian saints, but he also showed their power and their military interest as shown (figure 19), where a group of Turks is inspecting a cannon in a Central European town (Newton 88). Dürer also depicted the young Sultan Süleyman as can be seen in figure 20. This engraving is believed to have been produced after the victory of the Ottomans against the Hungarians at Mohacs in 1526. By 1526 Sultan Süleyman was 34 years old, but the engraving shows him much younger. Jürg Meyer Zur Capellen attributes this aspect to the unknown origin of the portraits and suggested it to be a portrait of the year 1520 when the sultan ascended to the throne (Bağcı & Zur Capellen 98). Dürer also wanted to show Turkish men as adept archers which was common knowledge at the time. There is no known proof that Dürer traveled to the Ottoman Empire. Therefore, his knowledge of the Turks was based on hearsay evidence, unlike Lorichs, as figure 21 shows. In the figure, we can clearly

see that Dürer is showing the Turkish man as an archer, but his depiction of a Turkish woman is completely wrong and imaginary (Newton 89). Lorichs also found bows and arrows very interesting in his figural drawing of Ottomans, and he painted many single figures with these arms (figure 22), where we see a bearded man holding bow and arrow. He is not wearing any kind of insignia to prove that he is a soldier, so he might be a commoner. Archery was a popular sport in the Ottoman Empire until the 19th century, and tournaments were held at Okmeydanı on occasion of circumcision festivals or Bayram (Atıl 1999 102).²⁹ Figure 23 was made in the same year as figure 22, depicting the same figure from another angle and wearing a turban. Figure 24, which was finished a year before the previous figures, is better drawn and most likely depicts a soldier, considering that he has a quiver instead of a single arrow and holds a scimitar in his belt. Nicolas de Nicolay also showed in his travelogue the importance of archers. In figure 25, we can clearly see the French caption describing the position of the archer, and in the travelogue he gives a brief description to the divisions of archers (Nicolay 165). Unlike Lorichs's drawing, we have clear information as to his rank and job description. Figure 25 was a *Solak* (royal guard of the sultan), a soldier in a division of the Janissary Corps. They formed the sultan's personal guard and in groups of eighty archers per company, and their leader was called *Solakbaşı* (head of the *Solaks*) (Yerasimos 1989 290).

²⁹ Today; Okmeydanı is a district of İstanbul.



Figure 19 Landscape with Cannon by Albrecht Dürer (1518)



Figure 20 Portrait of Young Sultan Süleyman I by Albrecht Dürer (1526)



Figure 21 The Turkish Family (1497) by Albrecht Dürer



Figure 22 Man with Bow and Arrow (1576) three-quarter view by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 23 Man wearing a Turban with Bow and Arrow (1576) view from back by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 24 Man wearing a Turban with Bow and Quiver (1575) profile by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 25 Solak, Ordinary Archer of the Sultan's Guard by Nicolas de Nicolay

Another subject that caught the interest of Europeans for many centuries was the Janissary Corps and their different attires. As mentioned in chapter I, janissaries were an early development in the Ottoman conscription system and resulted in the first stable army since the time of Romans in Europe. Initially, the Janissary Corps became larger and held an important position, like the Praetorian Guard in Rome, and had the power to overthrow the sultans. In the 16th century, the janissaries were among the best infantry units in Europe, and this aroused curiosity among the Europeans, resulting in many publications depicting their uniforms and positions in the Ottoman Army, such as costume albums. The musket came to be janissaries's weapon of choice, starting early in the 16th century (İnalçık 2003 53). As seen in figure 26, the janissaries utilized early firearms in addition to their traditional

weapons of choices (Wheatcroft 88). Moreover, in figure 27 by Nicolas de Nicolay, we can see the janissary drawn in the same format with a legend explaining who he is. Unlike Nicolas de Nicolay, Melchior Lorichs utilized shadows and the folding of the kaftans much efficiently. He also included a small background to give the audience a feel of the East. In his studies of janissaries in the following years, Lorichs continued using backgrounds for the same purpose, as can be seen in his drawings of 1581 and 1582 in the figures 28 and 29, respectively. Yet in his later studies, instead of muskets, he chose to use spears. As mentioned, janissaries had adapted to musket, but they were reluctant and mainly preferred the hand-to-hand combat styles, which utilized close-range weapons such as axes, swords, spears and maces (İnalçık 2003 53). The depiction of Melchior Lorichs closely resembles that of Nicolas de Nicolay, which was also based on his experience. Thus, we can conclude that the drawings are accurate and based on real-life models. Although the janissaries were the main infantry core of the Ottoman Army, they were not a cavalry force. The Ottoman Army at its core had a tradition of Central Asian warfare, which was only possible with strong cavalry regiments. This was the situation in the 16th century, as there were as many horses as men in the camps of the Ottoman Army. Naturally, we see this aspect of the Ottoman Army in the depictions of the traveling artist. Figure 30, Melchior Lorichs depicts an armed man riding a horse, most likely a *sipahi*, who was proficient in the use of many weapons. Melchior Lorichs had the opportunity to draw many equestrian figures, such as in figure 31. Busbecq, in his letter, details many of the horses that he bought and how they were treated by the Turks. Figure 31 is just like the horses that Busbecq describes: lean and with long legs, a small, agile body rather than the large and strong European horses. Turkish horses were bred for their endurance and speed (Busbecq 79). The horse has a blanket on its back against

the cold, and Busbecq mentions in his letter that Turks let horses out of the stables on hot summer nights and put a blanket on their backs against the chill of the night (Busbecq 80).



Figure 26 Janissary with a musket (1575) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 27 Janissary by Nicolas de Nicolay



Figure 28 Janissary with a spear (1581) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 29 Janissary with a spear (1582) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 30 Armed man riding a Horse (1576) by Melchior Lorichs

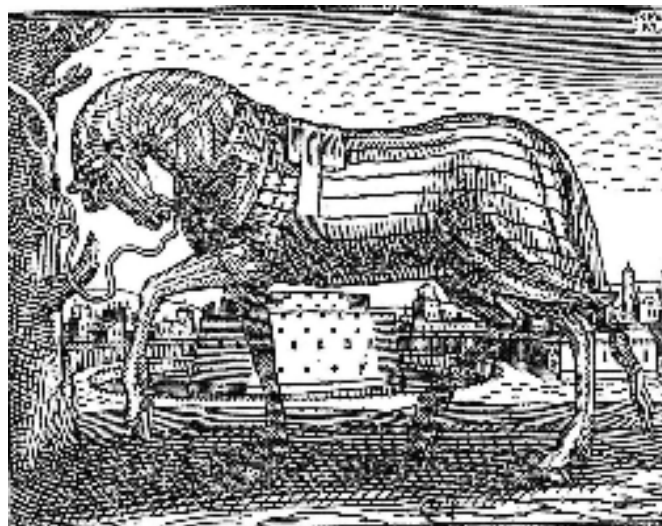


Figure 31 A study of a horse (1582) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 32 Deli by Nicolas de Nicolay



Figure 33 Most likely a Deli (1576) by Melchior Lorichs

Figure 32 is a drawing by Nicolas de Nicolay, and in his text, he names the cavalry as a *Deli*, meaning insane or extremely brave in Turkish. He notes that these warriors are non-Muslim border warriors from Serbia, Dalmatia and Croatia. They were light cavalry units most likely used for skirmishes. They decorate their head gear and shields with feathers. They wore leather pantaloons and they put a lion or leopard pelt on the back of their horse as a show of valor and bravery. Figure 32 shows these features very clearly. Nicolas de Nicolay also points out the name by which they call themselves, *Zataznicis* (Nicolay 226). Stéphane Yerasimos believes that this corresponds to *zatajnik* in Serbo-Croat, meaning renegades (Yerasimos 1989 296). Figure 33 might be a copy of Nicolas de Nicolay's picture, since they are very similar and most likely depicting the same subject. This being a copy is a very slight possibility. Busbecq, points out that he encountered a *Deli* who came to report to the grand vizier Rüstem Pasha and the divan (Busbecq 88). Thus, Melchior Lorichs most probably saw the same rider. Alexandrine St. Clair claims that this is a *Deli* and this corresponds to a Polish mercenary (St. Clair 1969 415). Polish mercenaries also styled themselves in the same fashion (Wheatcroft 64). They were called hussars or winged hussars and widely used on European battlefields until the end of World War I. Unlike their counterparts in Serbia-Croatia or Hungary, Polish hussars were heavy lancers with heavy armor; however, figure 33 does not support this (Zechenter 148). The Ottoman Army also used horse-tail banners according to the Central Asian traditions, which Melchior Lorichs depicted in figure 34. The Ottoman Army usually used the banners in ceremonies and in the campaigns. The Ottoman Army's expeditions consisted of many wagons, such as the ones in figure 35, to carry supplies (figure 36). In addition to wagons, Ottomans also used mules (figure 37) and

camels (figure 38) as a caravan on their campaigns, as Busbecq mentions in his *Turkish Letters* (Busbecq 81). Nicolas Poussin also copied figure 38, as can be seen from figure 39 (Fischer 1990 7).

Music had an important role in the Ottoman Army. Janissaries had their own band called *Mehter*, and drums were used mainly to accompany the marches (Signell 39). Yet there is no known example of camel drums used in the Ottoman Army. In the engraving in figure 40, the camel, its rider and the background is clearly depicted. The rider has the features of an Arabian or Moorish origin, and the background is a desert. In figure 41, we see a male porter carrying supplies in the camp. Again, in figure 42, we see a view from the camp, this time a blacksmith with thongs and a hammer. Most of the images in *Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren* aim to depict the Ottoman Army's tent life and different soldier figures. As St. Clair points out:

Lorichs sensed that a perpetual friction between East and West was unavoidable, and the *Liedt* expressed his strong feeling that the West must be well informed about the Turks, particularly about their military prowess and equipment. (St. Clair 1969 411)

We might say that Lorichs accomplished this aim. The value of his Ottoman encampment drawings is understood through their usage a century later in *Der Türkische Schauplatz* to retell the Ottoman siege of Vienna with commentaries (Ward-Jackson, 88). On the other hand, Lorichs also drew some day-to-day figures and exotic elements, like other traveling artists. The *Kazasker* (high official in the Ottoman judiciary) in figure 43 is one of these examples, though there is no legend or caption. If we compare this with a similar drawing by Nicolas de Nicolay (figure 44), we can clearly see the resemblance. Nicolas de Nicolay also gives a description of a *Kazasker* in his travelogue (Nicolay 186). Figure 45 by Nicolas de Nicolay is a drawing of a *Saka*, a seller of water mixed with sweets called *şerbet*. Nicolay again

gives an explanatory legend and explains thoroughly the function of these men in his travelogue (Nicolay 204). Figure 46 depicts a man similar in attire to Nicolay's drawing, where Melchior Lorichs shows the *saka* while mixing water with other ingredients. Instead of the still figure of Nicolay, Lorichs tries to give a natural feeling; the figure is drawn in the midst of an action rather than posing, as in Nicolay's engraving.

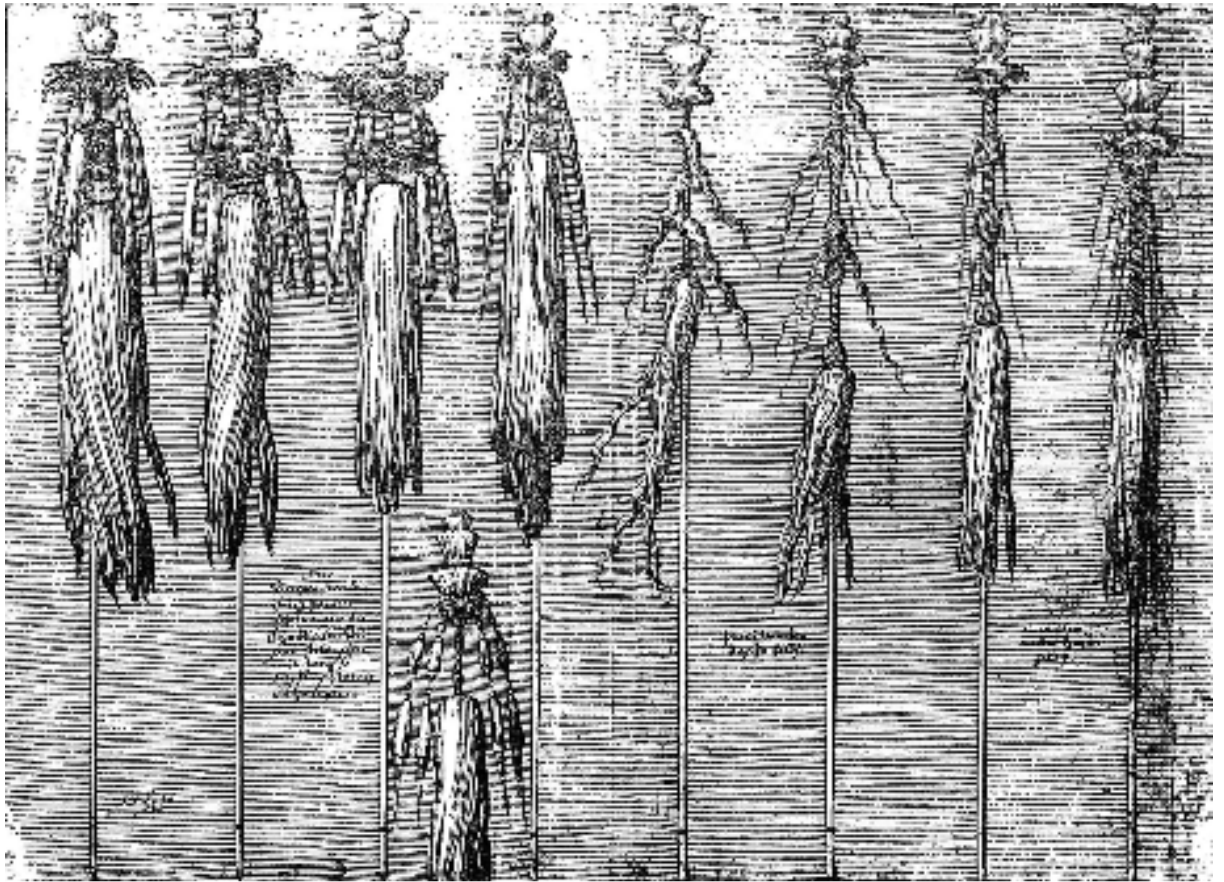


Figure 34 Horse Tail Banner with German Legends (1556) by Melchior Lorichs

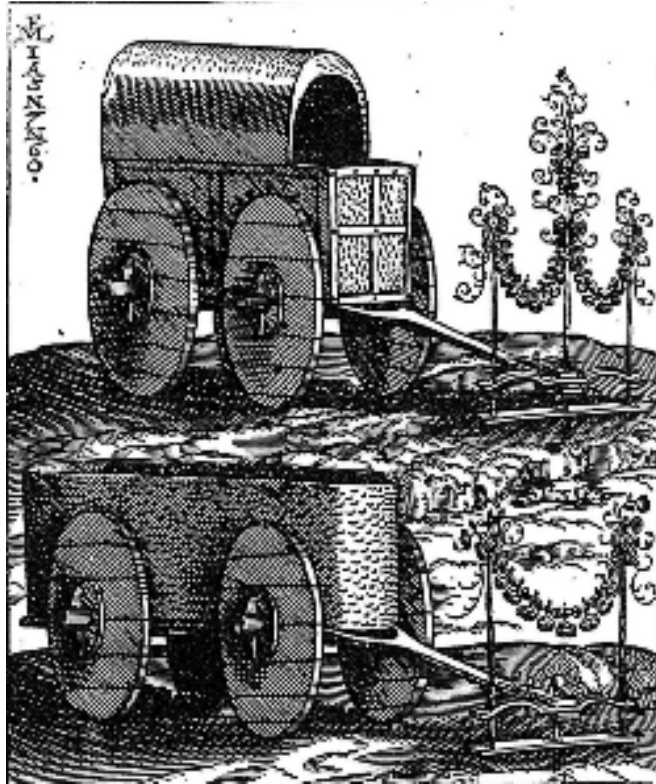


Figure 35 Wagons (1576) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 36 Assortment of Tools by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 37 Mule with Baggage (1582) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 38 A study of a camel (1582) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 39 A study of a camel by Nicolas Poussin



Figure 40 Camel with War Drums (1576) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 41 Porter (1581) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 42 Blacksmith (1581) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 43 Man riding a mule most likely a Kazasker (1582) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 44 Kazasker by Nicolas de Nicolay



Figure 45 Moorish Saka or Water Seller, pilgrim to Mecca



Figure 46 Saka mixing a şerbet



Figure 47 Harp Player (1576) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 48 Harp Player (1582) by Melchior Lorichs

Figure 47 depicts a man playing harp and was drawn in 1576. Figure 48 might be study for the same drawing, as we can see from the background and form, which are nearly identical. The most significant difference is the gender and costume. It is a

very slight possibility for Melchior Lorichs to see a woman unveiled. The only possibility for him was to have seen non-Muslim women, who also wore the same outfit in their houses. There is absolutely no possibility of him seeing the face of a woman from the sultan's harem, either a daughter or concubine, which means that the portraits in figure 49 must be imaginary. Muslim belief and the sanctity of the household dictated this situation (St. Claire 1973 31). Although he could not have seen Muslim women's faces, he was certainly able to see the faces of men. One of his most famous and rare drawings is the portrait of a man. In figure 50, we can clearly see the face of an older man in his last days in three-quarter view, drawn by using light and contrasting shadows. This man is no other than Sultan Süleyman, and this is the only portrait of him in his old age. The Latin caption under the portrait says that it was finished on 15 February 1559 in Constantinople. This picture is one of the sheets that survived separately from *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss*, Antwerp, 1574. Thus it should have been engraved in 1574 (Eyice 1970, 140). In figure 51a, in contrast to figure 50, we can clearly see that the portrayed figure is Sultan Süleyman and the building on the background the Süleymaniye Mosque. Süleyman's facial expressions are the same as on the previous figure, since he is wearing a caftan in simple design, a scimitar on his belt, and a turban in the same style. Yet, in figure 51b we see the same engraving with a small difference: there is a label behind the sultan that proclaims him to be İbrahim I. This alternation is due to the re-usage of the drawing by E.G. Happel in 1688. Happel used many of Lorichs drawing in his *Thesaurus Exoticorum*. While using the engravings, he took care to erase Süleyman's name and Melchior Lorichs's signature (Fischer 1990 7). Even distorted, this shows the quality

of Lorichs's work and its potential even a century after it was first drawn, due to his naturalistic approach in his single images and portraits.



Figure 49 Portraits of Zelome Sultan (a) and Ruzine Sultan (b) (1581) by Melchior Lorichs



Figure 50 Portrait of Sultan Süleyman I drawn by Melchior Lorichs on 15 February 1559³⁰

³⁰ Check Appendix for Transcription of the text below the portrait.



Figure 51a Portrait of Sultan Süleyman I by Melchior Lorichs

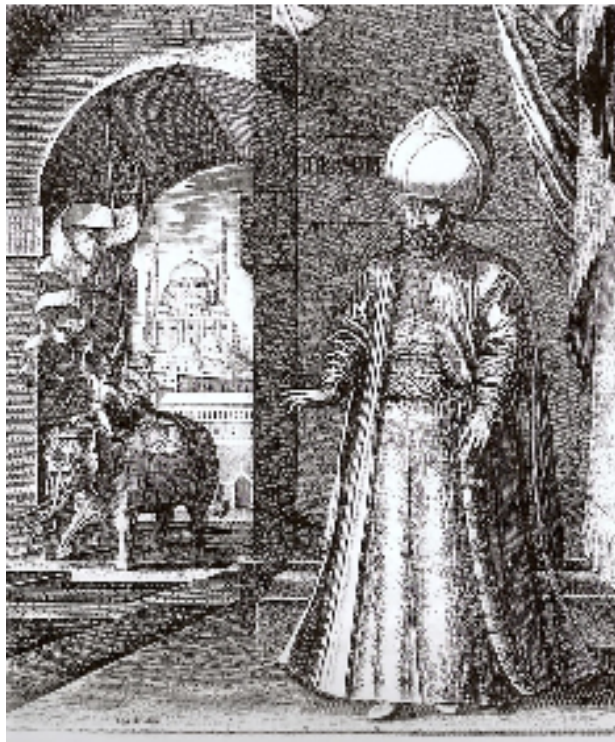


Figure 51b Portrait of Sultan Süleyman I by Melchior Lorichs reused in the later century

CONCLUSION

It is the aim of this study is to show the diversity of Melchior Lorichs's Turkish drawings in contrast to his contemporaries in the light of historical data. There is no doubt that his drawings are exceptionally important for historical documentation. On the other hand, his impact on the art world following his death is nearly non-existent, even more so after the 17th century.

Melchior Lorichs was a man of many talents. He started his life as an artist, as an apprentice to a craftsman, rather than a painter. His travels played a significant role in his training. Throughout his travels in many countries, he had numerous patrons, who commissioned from him various projects such as portraits, engravings, maps, and even decorations for festivals. Yet, there is no indication that Melchior Lorichs was commissioned for any drawings during his stay in the Ottoman lands, although he most likely drew the notables of the embassy delegation on commission. As he claims in his autobiographical letter, his purpose of travel to the East was to observe and draw ancient monuments. However, the present data shows the opposite. His drawings of antiquities constitute the minority of his works. This might well indicate that he was much more fascinated by the exoticism of Ottoman life and wished to show this to the European public. This puts him in a significant place among his contemporaries, as Walter Denny claims his drawings to be an early version of Orientalist painting (Denny 267).³¹

It is true that the evidence presented above points to the fact that Melchior Lorichs drew for documentation. This we can clearly see in the case of his antiquity

³¹ In case of his definition of "Rapportage Orientalism" Denny's detailed explanation is convincing. Still, I believe it is too early to define Lorichs as an Orientalist as we understand the term today.

studies, where he takes great care to note the inscriptions, and in his detailed architectural drawings of the Süleymaniye and the Atik Ali Mosque. Without doubt, his panorama is among his most acclaimed works and the epitome of detail. There is an ulterior motive behind these detailed drawings which were not commissioned. Melchior Lorichs simply wanted to publish these works, as he stated in his letter and indicated through his small publication of *Soldan Soleyman Turkischen Khaysers... whare und eigentliche contrafectung und bildtnuss*. Moreover, his engravings which were published in 1626 were a grouping likely to be used as a book on the Ottoman military, especially on Ottoman soldiers and logistics. These engravings show most of the elements in an Ottoman camp. As pointed out, there are tents, wagons, tools, blacksmiths, and mules carrying provisions, even dervishes, and many different types of Ottoman warriors from janissaries to spearmen, from archers and to cavalry units. Like Dürer before him, Melchior Lorichs was also aware of the danger of the Ottoman Army for Germany. *Ein Liedt vom Türken und Antichrist* was most probably written by him to warn the German public of this danger. However, Melchior Lorichs depicted the scenes from daily life and major monuments of this enemy state in the most realistic way.

In the 16th century, there were many books on the danger of the Ottomans to Christendom, but most of these had unrealistic depictions. Nicolas de Nicolay's book was one of the realistic depictions of Ottomans, although it was intended as a costume album rather than a military handbook to warn the public. Moreover, it was published in 1568, nine years after Melchior Lorichs's return from the Ottoman lands. In comparison to Melchior Lorichs's figures, Nicolas de Nicolay's figures are more rigid in appearance. Nicolas de Nicolay's engravings are nevertheless true to original and for costume studies they are invaluable. Ward-Jackson claims that

Melchior Lorichs wanted to make a costume album in combination with his European costume studies (Ward-Jackson 89). Although this might explain the number of daily life scenes, which is small in comparison to his militaristic drawings, it is more logical to assume that Melchior Lorichs was planning to publish a book on the Ottoman Army.

Melchior Lorichs was given a variety of commissions; the commissions he accepted during his life time show that his talent was also recognized at European courts. His work was very meticulous and to the point. His drawings were (and still are) a good source for life in the Ottoman lands in the 16th century. An artist as talented as Melchior Lorichs would often be copied. As mentioned above, even Poussin copied his work. Yet, we know of no other artist who directly copied from him. This can be explained by the limited number of copies of his publication. Even his 1626 publication was printed in small quantities. Happel did use his work, but removed the provenance and presented it in an entirely different perspective.

Melchior Lorichs's engravings are most significant in their documentary value. Some of his work is unique, such as the engravings of Fatih Mosque's old version. Melchior Lorichs's engravings of the Fatih Mosque give exceptional graphic details for the earlier version of this structure which was altered after its restoration in the 18th century. Also, his engraving of the base of the Column of Constantine is the only drawing of the relief and has been used for reconstructing the column in its original form.

This study investigated many aspects of Melchior Lorichs's drawings, but within the limit of the scope of this thesis, only a selection of his works is covered. Among the single images of Lorichs, some of his more imaginative figures (such as the harpy figure or his realistic peasant and dervish drawings), which might lead to

another study on the artist, are excluded from the discussion. In this regard, for further studies on Melchior Lorichs and his works, a comprehensive study that includes all or a selection based on a wider variety of his drawings with a comparative analysis of contemporary artists of the same genre and their works is possible and will highly contribute to the field.

As the evidence points out, Melchior Lorichs was one of the most important artists who depicted the 16th century Ottoman Empire. Together with the *Turkish Letters* by Busbecq, his drawings are among the most detailed primary source documents of the end of the age of Süleyman the Magnificent, of the Ottomans, and of Ottoman Constantinople of the 16th century. Particularly his panorama of Constantinople and his portraits of Süleyman the Magnificent in his old age are well-known and often used by modern historians. It can be said that Melchior Lorichs left a significant mark on our perception of the Age of Süleyman the Magnificent.

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Appendices

A- Figure 50 Transcription³²

In Arabic script in single line:

Al-Sultan ibn al-Sultan al Sultan Suleyman-Sah ibn al-Sultan Salim Han 'azz nasrahu (Eyice 1970a 141)

Translation:

The Sultan, Son of the Sultan, The Sultan Suleyman, Lord, Son of The Sultan Selim Khan. May he have Glory and Victory.

In Latin script in three lines:

- I. IMAGO SVLEYMANNI TVRCORVM IMP. IN ORIENTE, VNICI SELIMY FILII, QVI AN. DO. M D X X. PATRI IN IMPERIO SVCESSIT: QVO ETI =
- II. AM ANNO CAROLVS. V. MAXAEMYLIANI CAESARIS NEPOS AQVISGRANI IN OCCIDENTE CORONATVS EST CHRISTIAN, IMP. A. MELCHIO =
- III. RE LORICISI FLENSBVRGENSI, HOLSATIO, ANTIQVITATIS STVDIOSISS°. CONSTANTINOPOLI, AN, MDLIX. MEN. FEB., DIE XV, VERISSIME EXPRESSA. (Eyice 1970a 141)

Translation:

- I. The likeness of Suleyman, Emperor of the Turks in the East, Only son of Selim, who in the year of Our Lord 1520, succeeded his father in Dominion:
- II. In that same year, Charles V, grandson of The Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian, was crowned Christian Emperor in the West at Aix-la Chapelle.
- III. This, the truest likeness, was engraved by that most ardent student of antiquity, Melchior Lorichs of Flensburg in Holstein, at Constantinople, on the 15th February, 1559.

³² Translations done by Adrian Saunders

B- 16th Century Travelers to the Ottoman Empire³³

1530 – Benedict Curipeschitz: A translator to the embassy delegation sent by Ferdinand I of Austria to Süleyman I. He traveled with the delegation from Laibach (now Ljubljana in Slovenia) to Constantinople. His journey in the Ottoman Empire took less than six months yet he was able to publish a book detailing his travels and the people he saw on the way in 1531 under the title *Itenerarium Wegraysz Postschafgen Constantinopel zu den Turkischen Keiser Soleymann, anno, XXX*.

1544 – Jerome Maurand: A priest in the French delegation sent by François I to Süleyman I. He embarked on a ship from Toulon, which was accompanied by the fleet of Hayreddin Pasha which was returning to Constantinople. His journey took nearly three months. His travels were later published in *Itineraire de Jerome Maurand d'Antibes a Constantinople*.

1547 – Monsieur d'Aramon: Ambassador to Süleyman I from the French court. He traveled overland from Ragusa to Diyarbakır to meet with Süleyman I who was on a military campaign to Persia. His travelogue *Le Voyage de Monsieur d'Aramon* was written by his two assistants Jacques Gassot and Jean Chesneau. Jacques Gassot's version was published in 1558, 1606, and 1684. Jean Chesneau's version was edited and published in 1887 by Charles Schefer.

1554 – Hans Dernschwam: Traveled with the embassy delegation led by Busbecq from Vienna to Amasya. He stayed with Busbecq's entourage for the entire trip, nearly one year, and kept a diary of his travels. His travelogue was never published; only in 1923 did Franz Babinger publish his travelogue under the title *Tagebucheiner Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien*.

1573 – Philippe du Fresne Canaye: Traveled to Constantinople from Ragusa with the embassy delegation of M. de Noailles of France. He stayed for nearly six months in the Ottoman Empire. His travelogue was not published in his lifetime, but it was edited by M. H. Hauser in 1897, under the title *Le Voyage de Philippe de Fresne Canaye*.

1584 – John Sanderson: Traveled east as an agent of the Levant Company. He was employed by the English embassy in Istanbul on many occasions and in different positions from 1584 to 1604. He was instrumental in the transportation of an organ to be presented to the Ottoman sultan as a gift on behalf of Elizabeth I. His travelogue was published in 1931 by Sir William Foster under the title *The Travels of John Sanderson*.

³³ I have omitted Melchior Lorichs, Ogier Ghislain de Busbecq, Nicolay de Nicolay, and Peter Coeck van Aelst which I have mentioned in more detail in the thesis. I have used Gülgün Üçel-Aybet's *Avrupalı Seyyahların Gözünden Osmanlı Dünyası ve İnsanları* as a source.

1595 – Fynes Moryson: The main objective of his trip was to travel to Jerusalem. He traveled over the sea from Venice to Cyprus, and then to the coast of Lebanon on his way back he stopped on the Aegean Islands and in Constantinople. His journey took nearly two years, and he later published his travels in three volumes under the title *An Itinerary Containing His Ten Years Travell through the Twelve Dominions of Germany, Bohmerland, Sweitzerland, Netherland, Demarke, Poland, Italy, Turkey, France, England, Scotland, and Ireland* in 1617.

C- Catalog of Melchior Lorichs's Artworks³⁴

The Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, USA

Ismael, the Persian Ambassador of Tahmasp, King of Persia

Engraving on ivory laid paper

Date: 1559

395 x 265 mm (plate); 410 x 310 mm (sheet)

1991.127

Ismael, the Persian Ambassador of Techmas, King of Persia

Engraving on paper

Date: 1564-1574

370 x 292 mm (sheet)

1920.2317

The British Museum, London, UK

Tortoise

Drawing: Charcoal, heightened with creamy-white body color, on blue paper

Date: 1542-1588

Height: 189 millimeters

Width: 208 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1884

1884,0308.34

Sol

Engraving

Date: 1546

Height: 66 millimeters

Width: 42 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1930

1930, 0617.40

St Jerome in the wilderness

Engraving

Date: 1546

Height: 99 millimeters

Width: 89 millimeters

E, 4.117

The clairvoyant

Engraving

Date: 1547

Height: 50 millimeters

Width: 36 millimeters

³⁴ The part includes all of the artworks of Melchior Lorichs in the museums across the world. Albertina Museum, Vienna, Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, and The Royal Museum of Fine Arts, Copenhagen also have some works of Melchior Lorichs in their collections. Unfortunately their inventory lists could not be reached.

Acquisition date: 1934
1934, 0609.9

Geometry

Engraving

Date: 1547

Height: 58 millimeters

Width: 41 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1934

1934, 0609.10

The mole

Engraving

Date: 1548

Height: 71 millimeters

Width: 107 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1874

1874, 0711.1823

The Basilisk

Engraving

Date: 1548

Height: 43 millimeters

Width: 62 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1917

1917, 0714.7

Portrait of Martin Luther

Engraving

Date: 1548

Height: 254 millimeters

Width: 169 millimeters

R, 7.163

A crucified man (Haman)

Engraving

Date: 1548

Height: 164 millimeters

Width: 96 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1924

1924, 0714.11

Albrecht Dürer

Engraving

Date: 1550

Height: 165 millimeters

Width: 98 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1895

1895, 0122.782

Albrecht Dürer

Engraving

Date: 1550

Height: 158 millimeters

Width: 95 millimeters

E, 2.383

The Flood

Woodcut

Height: 321 millimeters

Width: 500 millimeters

Width: 250 millimeters (Per sheet)

Acquisition date: 1863

1863, 1114.764

Studies after Roman statues

Drawing: Pen and brown ink

Date: 1551

Height: 304 millimeters

Width: 179 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1884

1884, 0308.821

[Sibilla Tiburtina auch Albina genandt ...] Eer und lob einer schön wolgezierten Frawen. Lob und Eer einer Tugenthafften Frawen. (The Tiburtine Sibyl, alias Albina. Honor and praise of a beautiful woman. Praise and honor of a virtuous woman.)

Woodcut

Date: 1551

Height: 221 millimeters (Borderline)

Width: 157 millimeters

Height: 246 millimeters (Sheet size (Trimmed))

Width: 327 millimeters

E, 7.253

Jonah coming out of the whale's mouth

Drawing: Pen and brown ink

Date: 1551

Height: 146 millimeters

Width: 217 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1884

1884, 0308.35

Interior of a house with courtyard

Drawing: Pen and black ink

Date: 1555

Height: 199 millimeters

Width: 244 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1949

1949, 0411.118

Satire on the papacy

Etching

Date: 1555

Height: 199 millimeters

Width: 128 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1865

1865, 0708.95

A corpulent Turkish soldier

Woodcut

Date: 1555-1588

Height: 339 millimeters

Width: 246 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1982

1982, 0123.1

Stallion

Drawing: Red chalk, with green-yellow wash, and traces of black chalk

Date 1556

Height: 162 millimeters

Width: 210 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1884

1884, 0308.37

Portrait of Augier Ghislain de Busbecq

Engraving

Date 1557

Height: 126 millimeters

Width: 87 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1930

1930, 0617.39

Portrait of Ismael

Engraving

Date: 1559

Height: 410 millimeters

Width: 289 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1848

1848, 1125.23

Sultan Süleyman the Magnificent

Engraving

Date: 1559

Height: 434 millimeters

Width: 313 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1848

1848, 1125.24

Capital

Drawing: Pen and grey ink

Date: 1561

Height: 139 millimeters

Width: 215 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1848

1884, 0308.820

Portrait of Aristotle

Engraving

Date: 1561

Height: 166 millimeters

Width: 96 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1866

1866, 0623.82

Portrait of Michael von Aitzing

Engraving

Date: 1565

Height: 201 millimeters

Width: 149 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1930

1930, 1216.9

Nature

Engraving

Date: 1565

Height: 324 millimeters (Borderline)

Width: 222 millimeters

Height: 343 millimeters (Sheet size)

Width: 234 millimeters

E, 9.175

Portrait of Sultan Süleyman

Engraving

Date: 1669

Height: 408 millimeters

Width: 287 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1848

1848, 1125.22

A female figure

Woodcut

Date: 1570-1588

Height: 183 millimeters

Width: 101 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4587

Various vessels and cooking implements

Woodcut
Date: 1570-1588
Height: 202 millimeters
Width: 131 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4656

A Turkish nobleman
Woodcut
Date: 1570-1588
Height: 112 millimeters
Width: 71 millimeters,
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4666

A soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1570-1588
Height: 205 millimeters
Width: 135 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4619

A soldier holding a lance
Woodcut
Date: 1570-1588
Height: 237 millimeters
Width: 132 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4579

A tent on the banks of a river
Woodcut
Date: 1570-1588
Height: 257 millimeters
Width: 170 millimeters (Trimmed at r)
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4654

The outskirts of a town
Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 124 millimeters
Width: 182 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4644

A street scene
Woodcut
Date: 1570

Height: 124 millimeters
Width: 183 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4646

A street scene

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 124 millimeters
Width: 183 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4646

A mosque

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 180 millimeters
Width: 255 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4652

View of a city with a mosque in foreground

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 180 millimeters (Trimmed)
Width: 256 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4649

View of a city with a mosque in foreground

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 177 millimeters
Width: 256 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4650

The facade of a mosque

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 180 millimeters
Width: 123 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4645

Street scene

Woodcut
Date: 1570
Height: 125 millimeters
Width: 182 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4647

Jesus Christ

Woodcut

Date: 1570

Height: 140 millimeters

Width: 136 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4660

Portrait of Hubert Goltzius

Engraving

Date: 1574

Height: 293 millimeters

Width: 199 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1895

1895, 0617.157

A water-carrier

Woodcut

Date: 1575

Height: 229 millimeters

Width: 136 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4583

A cook

Woodcut

Date: 1575

Height: 229 millimeters

Width: 135 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4622

A bearded archer

Woodcut

Date: 1575

Height: 229 millimeters

Width: 135 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4601

A Janissary

Woodcut

Date: 1575

Height: 229 millimeters

Width: 137 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4600

Portrait of Michael von Aitzing

Engraving; second state

Date: 1576

Height: 193 millimeters (Trimmed)

Width: 130 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 1209.507

A Tartar archer

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 205 millimeters

Width: 131 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4624

An imperial bodyguard

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 242 millimeters

Width: 133 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4614

A border soldier

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 219 millimeters

Width: 136 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4575

A Turkish warrior

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 202 millimeters

Width: 135 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4625

A Turkish archer

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 203 millimeters

Width: 138 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4596

A running soldier

Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 201 millimeters
Width: 134 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4576

A tartar soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 203 millimeters
Width: 130 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4598

Turkish foot soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 215 millimeters
Width: 137 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4608

A Kurdish soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 217 millimeters
Width: 132 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4585

A soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 202 millimeters
Width: 132 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4577

A foot soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 204 millimeters
Width: 134 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4617

A Persian priest
Woodcut
Date: 1576

Height: 206 millimeters
Width: 133 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4571

A Georgian foot-soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 203 millimeters
Width: 139 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4603

A bearded archer
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 245 millimeters
Width: 133 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4621

A saddled camel
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 211 millimeters
Width: 154 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4634

The reckless soldier
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 213 millimeters
Width: 157 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4612

A man on horseback holding a lance with a large banderole
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 236 millimeters
Width: 155 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4561

A cavalry member
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 238 millimeters
Width: 156 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4584

A foot soldier

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 215 millimeters

Width: 137 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4590

Two wagons with ornate harnesses

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 204 millimeters

Width: 172 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4659

A beast of burden

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 158 millimeters

Width: 152 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4641

A Spahi

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 239 millimeters

Width: 156 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4568

A knight on horseback

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 239 millimeters

Width: 155 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4574

A rider with a large double banner

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 238 millimeters

Width: 158 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4613

A cemetery

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 205 millimeters

Width: 150 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4648

A mosque

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 178 millimeters

Width: 205 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4651

A governor (Beglerbeg)

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 213 millimeters

Width: 156 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4610

A kettledrum player riding a camel

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 204 millimeters

Width: 169 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4642

A standard bearer on horseback

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 240 millimeters

Width: 156 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4573

Three military standards

Woodcut

Date: 1576

Height: 204 millimeters

Width: 128 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871, 0812.4658

A man on horseback holding a lance with a large banderole

Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 236 millimeters
Width: 156 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1864
1864, 0611.472

A Turkish noblewoman
Woodcut
Date: 1576
Height: 234 millimeters
Width: 140 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4560

A Tartar ladder wagon
Woodcut
Date: 1579
Height: 145 millimeters
Width: 105 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4655

A Turkish noblewoman
Woodcut
Date: 1579
Height: 234 millimeters
Width: 142 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1878
1878, 0713.4152

A Tartar baggage horse
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 161 millimeters
Width: 155 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4631

A master of provisions
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 207 millimeters
Width: 170 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4565

A blacksmith
Woodcut
Date: 1581

Height: 202 millimeters
Width: 131 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4618

A young gardener holding a sickle
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 182 millimeters (Trimmed)
Width: 100 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4607

A peasant holding a scythe
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 206 millimeters
Width: 135 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4580

A Qadi
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 213 millimeters
Width: 155 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4572

A cannonneer
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 204 millimeters
Width: 134 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4602

A soldier walking to right
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 245 millimeters
Width: 132 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4593

A rascal
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 202 millimeters
Width: 110 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4582

A soldier with lance and shield

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 204 millimeters
Width: 133 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4578

A Janissary (Yeniceri)

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 244 millimeters
Width: 134 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4594

A servant

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 191 millimeters
Width: 134 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4567

A sorbet seller

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 204 millimeters
Width: 126 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4592

A bearded Turk carrying a barrel on his back

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 205 millimeters
Width: 131 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4589

A eunuch

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 198 millimeters
Width: 138 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871, 0812.4566

Ruziae Soldane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 236 millimeters

Width: 144 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4557

Raheme Soltane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 240 millimeters

Width: 145 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1929

1929,0416.58

Achada Soltane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 237 millimeters

Width: 143 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4558

Verhenas Sultane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 237 millimeters

Width: 144 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4555

Zelome Sultane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 237 millimeters

Width: 145 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4556

Raheme Soltane

Woodcut

Date: 1581

Height: 238 millimeters

Width: 145 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4637

A Turk on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 216 millimeters
Width: 172 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4562

A public wrestler
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 198 millimeters
Width: 118 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4609

A Greek virgin from Pera
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 204 millimeters
Width: 130 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4581

A high-ranking official
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 199 millimeters
Width: 88 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4605

A blood relative of the Prophet
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 219 millimeters
Width: 97 millimeters (Trimmed)
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4616

An imperial secretary
Woodcut
Date: 1581
Height: 201 millimeters
Width: 131 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4597

The swaggerer
Woodcut
Date: 1581

Height: 243 millimeters
Width: 132 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4599

A Turkish soldier

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 247 millimeters
Width: 140 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4591

A Tartar woman on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 169 millimeters
Width: 148 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4630

A Turk on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 198 millimeters
Width: 153 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4588

A horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 136 millimeters
Width: 175 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1929
1929,0416.59

A travelling Turk

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 216 millimeters
Width: 168 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4563

A hermit

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 95 millimeters
Width: 70 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4664

A hermit

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 124 millimeters

Width: 86 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4663

A Tartar

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 113 millimeters

Width: 75 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4662

Man with a moustache and skull cap

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 109 millimeters

Width: 101 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4665

A pilgrim

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 104 millimeters

Width: 72 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4661

An elephant keeper

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 112 millimeters

Width: 74 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4611

A water carrier

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 187 millimeters

Width: 116 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4586

A woman carrying food in a basket on her back

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 202 millimeters

Width: 131 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4595

Five coffins

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 203 millimeters

Width: 144 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4657

A soldier

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 231 millimeters

Width: 125 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4623

A harpy

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 232 millimeters

Width: 162 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4643

A wise man supported by two assistants

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 215 millimeters

Width: 152 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4626

A Janissary general on horseback

Woodcut

Date: 1582

Height: 214 millimeters

Width: 169 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871

1871,0812.4629

An officer on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 216 millimeters
Width: 167 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4627

A Turkish nobleman on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 200 millimeters
Width: 154 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4564

A high-ranking official on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 216 millimeters
Width: 168 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4628

A Janissary walking in a landscape

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 260 millimeters
Width: 143 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4606

A foot soldier running

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 207 millimeters
Width: 127 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4620

A nobleman's horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 143 millimeters
Width: 167 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4640

A horse laden with two amphorae

Woodcut
Date: 1582

Height: 133 millimeters
Width: 187 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4638

A saddled camel

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 209 millimeters
Width: 143 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4635

A Turkish nobleman on horseback

Woodcut
Date: 158
Height: 203 millimeters
Width: 167 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4570

A sumpter horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 140 millimeters (Trimmed at top)
Width: 138 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4632

A bridled horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 136 millimeters
Width: 185 millimeters (Trimmed at r)
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4633

A saddled battle horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 164 millimeters
Width: 169 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4639

A military horse laden with provisions

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 150 millimeters
Width: 167 millimeters

Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4636

A bearded archer

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 200 millimeters
Width: 137 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4604

A Turkish woman in street dress

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 202 millimeters
Width: 131 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4615

A horse

Woodcut
Date: 1582
Height: 136 millimeters
Width: 173 millimeters
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4559

A harp player

Woodcut
Date: 1583
Height: 253 millimeters
Width: 174 millimeters (Trimmed)
Acquisition date: 1871
1871,0812.4569

The Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, USA

L'Homme Crucific

Engraving
Date: 1550
1923.264

Le pere mort et ses trois fils

Woodcut
Date: 1551
1923.249

The Hamburg Public Library, Hamburg, Germany

Die Hamburger Elbkarte aus dem Jahre 1568

Date: 1568
Acquisition Date: 1964
Cbl 054z#•/Cbl 0

The Leiden University Library, Leiden, Netherlands

Panorama of Constantinople
Drawing: Black ink
Date: 1559
Height: 45 cm
Length: 1127 cm
BPL 1758

The Louvre Museum, Paris, France

Ascension du Christ
Drawing: Black ink
Date: 1551
Height: 400 mm
Weight: 220 mm
INV 18728

Dromadaire portant un timbalier
Drawing: Brown ink
Date: 1557
Height: 332 mm
Weight: 471 mm
INV 18727

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, USA

Portrait of Sultan Suleyman
Engraving; second state
sheet: 15 7/8 x 11 1/4 in. (40.4 x 28.6 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925
25.2.49

Suleiman II
Engraving; second state
sheet: 15 7/8 x 11 1/4 in. (40.4 x 28.6 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925
25.2.49

Süleyman the Magnificent
Engraving; second state
sheet: 15 7/8 x 11 1/4 in. (40.4 x 28.6 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925
25.2.49

Portrait of Sultan Suleiman

Engraving
15 13/16 x 11 1/4 in. (40.2 x 28.6 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1959
59.570.35

*Sultan Süleyman and the Süleymaniye Mosque, Constantinople, 1574 (or earlier),
altered in
1688 to represent Ibrahim I*

Engraving
15 13/16 x 11 1/4 in. (40.2 x 28.6 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1959
59.570.35

Bust of a Woman in Oriental Costume Facing Left
Woodcut
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1925
17.3.1581

Christ, left profile
Woodcut
sheet: 3 5/8 x 2 15/16 in. (9.2 x 7.4 cm)
Rogers Fund, 1917
17.42.32

Crucified Man
6 3/8 x 3 3/4 in. (16.2 x 9.5 cm)
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1960
60.576.34

The Dead Father and His three Sons
12 1/2 x 19 1/4 in. (31.8 x 48.9 cm)
The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1949
49.97.619

The Dead Father and His three Sons, from Holzschnitte Alter Meister...
Dorschau reprint, 1922
14 7/8 x 21 5/8 in. (37.8 x 54.9 cm)
22.112.1(12)

Portrait of Albrecht Dürer
6 1/2 x 3 3/4 in. (16.5 x 9.5 cm)
Harry G. Friedman Bequest, 1966
66.521.56

Portrait of Michel von Aizing
plate: 7 5/8 x 5 3/8 in. (19.4 x 13.7 cm)
Rogers Fund, 1962
62.656.1

A Woman from Altmark

Pen and brown ink; framing lines in brown ink
5 1/16 x 1 1/4 in. (12.9 x 3.2 cm)
Inscribed by artist, upper right, in brown ink: "Altte Marke"
Harry G. Sperling Fund, 1995
1995.299

[Wohlgelassene und geschnittene Figuren ...]
Woodcut
Overall: 10 7/8 x 7 3/8 x 9/16 in. (27.6 x 18.8 x 1.5 cm)
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932
32.86

Suleyman the Magnificent Going to Mosque
Wood engraving
Overall: 20 1/2 x 15 3/4 x 9/16 in. (52 x 40 x 1.5 cm)
On dedication page, in ink "To George Dempster Esq. with the best regards of the editor,
William Stirling Maxwell, Kier Nov. 27 1877"
Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1947
47.189

The National Library of France (Bibliothèque nationale de France), Paris, France

Dess kunstreichen weitberuehmbten und wolerfahrenen Herrn Melchioris Lorichi,...
[Texte imprimé] : wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren zu Ross und Fuss, sampt schönen türckischen Gebäwen und allerhand was in der Türckey zusehen...
Date: 1646
NUMM-103305

The Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark

Ein liedt vom Türcken vnd Antichrist : Mag gesungen werden in der Melodey Erhör mein wordt ... / durch Melchior Lorichs zu Constantinopel gedicht im Jahr 1559
Date: 1568
30:2,-229 4°

Wolgerissene und geschnittene Figuren zu Rosz und zuFusz, sampt schönen türckischen Gebäwden, und allerhand was in der Türckey zu sehen. Alles nach dem Leben und der perspectivæ Jederman vor Augen gestellet
Date: 1626
17,-250 2°. 2 eks.